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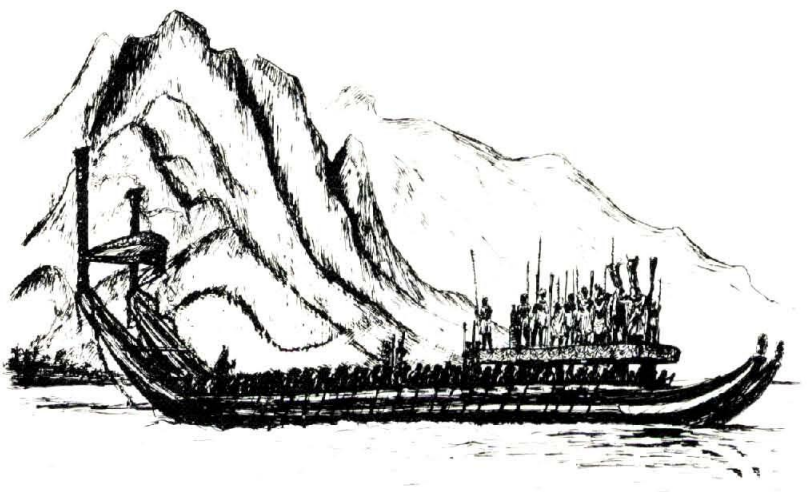
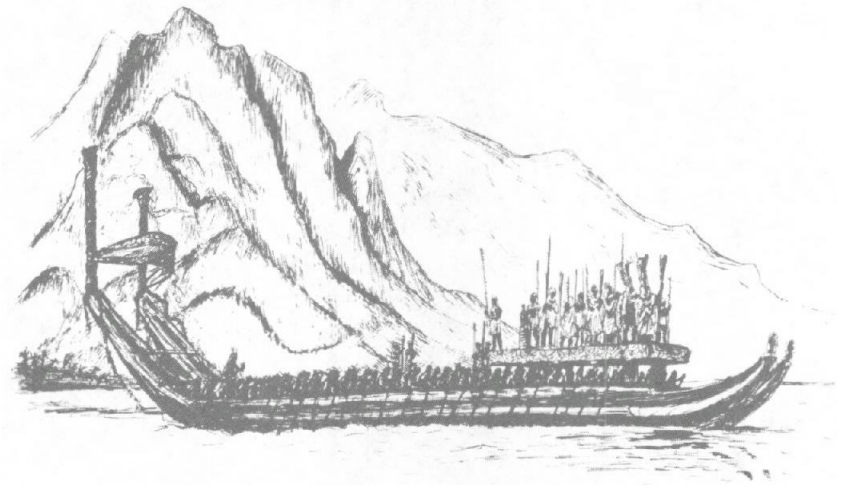
Oceania
a regional study



Oceania
a regional study

Foreign Area Studies
The American University
Edited by
Frederica M. Bunge
and Melinda W. Cooke
Research completed
June 1984



On the cover: Tahitian double war canoe

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Foreword

This volume is one of a continuing series of books prepared by Foreign Area Studies, The American University, under the Country Studies/Area Handbook Program. The last page of this book provides a listing of other published studies. Each book in the series deals with a particular foreign country, describing and analyzing its economic, national security, political, and social systems and institutions and examining the interrelationships of those systems and institutions and the ways that they are shaped by cultural factors. Each study is written by a multidisciplinary team of social scientists. The authors seek to provide a basic insight and understanding of the society under observation, striving for a dynamic rather than a static portrayal of it. The study focuses on historical antecedents and on the cultural, political, and socioeconomic characteristics that contribute to cohesion and cleavage within the society. Particular attention is given to the origins and traditions of the people who make up the society, their dominant beliefs and values, their community of interests and the issues on which they are divided, the nature and extent of their involvement with the national institutions, and their attitudes toward each other and toward the social system and political order within which they live.

The contents of the book represent the views, opinions, and findings of Foreign Area Studies and should not be construed as an official Department of the Army position, policy, or decision, unless so designated by other official documentation. The authors have sought to adhere to accepted standards of scholarly objectivity. Such corrections, additions, and suggestions for factual or other changes that readers may have will be welcomed for use in future new editions.

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Special thanks are owed to Reiko I. Seekins, who designed the cover and the illustrations for the title page of each chapter. The inclusion of photographs in this study was made possible by the generosity of various individuals and public and private organizations. The authors acknowledge their indebtedness to those who provided original work not previously published, in particular Patricia Luce Chapman, chairperson of the Micronesia Institute in Washington D.C., who shared many photographs of Micronesia.

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Preface

Oceania: A Regional Study replaces the *Area Handbook for Oceania*, which was researched and written in mid-1970 and published in 1971. At the time of publication of the earlier work, only four of the 19 political entities studied were independent, and the others were associated in varying forms of dependency with Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, and the United States. In contrast, as of mid-1984 nine of the 20 political entities studied were independent states, and two were self-governing states in free association with New Zealand. The remaining nine were associated in varying degrees of dependency with Britain, Chile, France, New Zealand, and the United States; of these the United States-administered Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands were undergoing political transition to four separate political entities—three self-governing states in free association with the United States and one commonwealth of the United States. In light of these developments, as well as major social and economic changes throughout the region, a new examination of Oceania is warranted.

Oceania has several meanings, but for this study it is defined as an island area bordered by, and including, the island of New Guinea and the United States trust territories on the west; Hawaii and Easter Island on the north and east, respectively; and Australia and New Zealand on the south. This study, however, does not include topical treatment of Australia and its dependencies, New Zealand proper, Hawaii, various uninhabited United States Pacific islands, and the western half of the island of New Guinea, which forms part of Indonesia. These territories may nevertheless be mentioned in the context of overall historical development or strategic interests in the region. It should be noted that although certain areas having special relationships with the United States, such as Guam and American Samoa, might be sensitive about being examined as "foreign," they have been included because it was not possible to look at the whole of Oceania without reference to their important role in the region.

The opening and closing chapters of the study pertain to the region as a whole—the first giving a broad cultural and historical overview of Oceania and the last treating the region from a strategic perspective. The three intervening chapters deal with geographical, historical, social, economic, political, and security aspects of particular contemporary societies. For convenience of organization the study arranges each of the 20 states and ter-

ritories of Oceania into the appropriate cultural divisions of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. This has involved making several choices, resulting for instance in the outlying Polynesian islands of some Melanesian states being treated in the chapter on Melanesia. Appendix A chronicles events involving Oceania during World War II. The organization, aims, and activities of the two major regional groups are addressed in Appendix B. The text of the 1951 Security Treaty Between Australia, New Zealand, and the United States of America (the ANZUS treaty) is found in Appendix C.

After the manuscript for this study was completed, political violence in New Caledonia captured headlines around the world. In the summer of 1984 most of the parties of the Independence Front dissociated themselves from the territory's autonomy statute and formed the Kanaka and Socialist National Liberation Front (Front de la Libération Nationale Kanak et Socialiste—FLNKS). The FLNKS boycotted and seriously disrupted territorial elections held on November 18 and created a provisional government, under the leadership of Jean-Marie Tjibaou, for what it planned to be an independent country called Kanaky. Despite pleas for order from High Commissioner Edgard Pisani, who arrived in early December to renegotiate the autonomy statute, French settlers ambushed and killed two of Tjibaou's brothers and eight other Kanakas on December 5. On January 11, 1985, Kanaka activists killed a white teenager, touching off riots in Nouméa. One day later police shot and killed two important leaders of the provisional government's so-called security forces. The violence prompted French president François Mitterrand to send an additional 1,000 security troops to the area and, unexpectedly, to make a personal visit to the distant territory on January 19. He was met in Nouméa by angry crowds demonstrating their support for French rule. Acts of sabotage and other violence continued in February, and negotiations intensified. Although it seemed that some sort of referendum on limited "independence" would be held by the end of the year, it was less certain that the political violence could be quelled.

Compared with the dramatic events in New Caledonia, developments elsewhere in Oceania were mere ripples of change. In September 1984 France quietly promulgated French Polynesia's autonomy statute, which gave the elected leadership (henceforth headed by a president) control over local government but which failed to mollify the pro-independence opposition groups. During the same month, the people of Palau failed yet again to obtain the three-fourths majority required to approve its

Compact of Free Association with the United States. In October the Solomon Islands electorate continued its tradition of replacing about half of its parliamentary representatives, who in turn voted to replace Prime Minister Solomon Mamaloni with former Prime Minister Peter Tali Kenilorea; almost immediately the new government set about undoing Mamaloni's decentralization of public administration. In American Samoa Governor Peter Coleman gave up his legal battle to run for a third consecutive term, allowing the election of lawyer A.P. Lutali in November. Nearby in Western Samoa the electorate overwhelmingly returned Prime Minister Tofilau Eti Alesana's Human Rights Protection Party to power in February 1985.

The strategic environment in Oceania became somewhat unsettled after David Lange's Labour Party came to power in New Zealand in July 1984. The government refused to allow nuclear-powered vessels or those carrying nuclear weapons to land in the country, forcing a showdown with the United States in February 1985. The United States pulled out of naval exercises scheduled for March, threatened economic reprisals, and curtailed some forms of defense cooperation. Neither side, however, expressed a desire to abrogate the trilateral security agreement known as the ANZUS treaty. Australia, the third member of the alliance, played a middle role between the feuding allies, announcing that it would continue bilateral cooperation with both. The ANZUS countries were agreed in their distrust of the Soviet Union, which was making inroads in the Pacific in 1985 by offering lucrative fisheries agreements to Kiribati and Tuvalu.

Like its predecessor, this study seeks to provide a compact and objective exposition of dominant social, economic, political, and national security aspects of contemporary societies in Oceania. In presenting this new work the authors have relied primarily on official reports of United States government agencies and international organizations and journals, newspapers, and materials reflecting recent field research by indepedent scholarly authorities. Detailed data on many aspects of the societies under study were not always readily available, however. Full references to sources consulted are included in the detailed chapter bibliographies at the end of this book.

Spellings of place-names in this book generally conform to official standard names approved by the United States Board on Geographic Names. For several of the newly independent states, however, these were checked for current usage against the *Atlas of the South Pacific*, published by the External Intelligence Bureau of the Prime Minister's Department of New Zealand, and

the list of "Obsolete and Alternative Names for the Pacific Islands" included in the *Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1981*. An effort has been made to limit the use of foreign and technical words in the text, but where this has not been appropriate, such terms have been defined briefly where they first appear in any chapter or reference has been made to the Glossary, which is included for the reader's convenience. English usage follows *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*.

All measurements are in metric terms. The following conversion table will assist those who may not be familiar with metric equivalents.

Table 1. Metric Conversion Coefficients

When you know	Multiply by	To find
Millimeters	0.04	inches
Centimeters	0.39	inches
Meters	3.3	feet
Kilometers	0.62	miles
Hectares (10,000 m)	2.47	acres
Square kilometers	0.39	square miles
Cubic meters	35.3	cubic feet
Liters	0.26	gallons
Kilograms	2.2	pounds
Metric tons	0.98	long tons
	1.1	short tons
	2,204	pounds
Degrees Celsius (Centigrade)	9 divide by 5 and add 32	degrees Fahrenheit

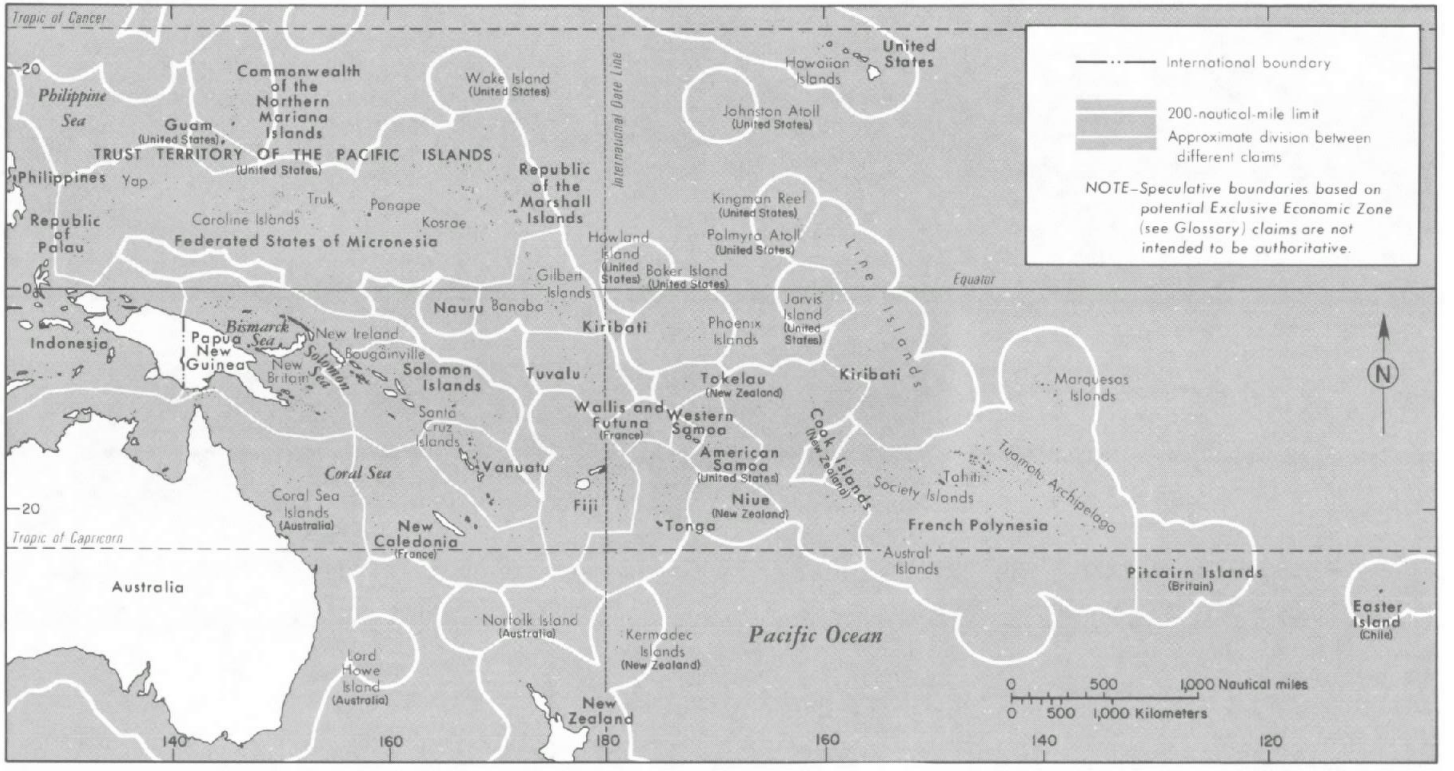
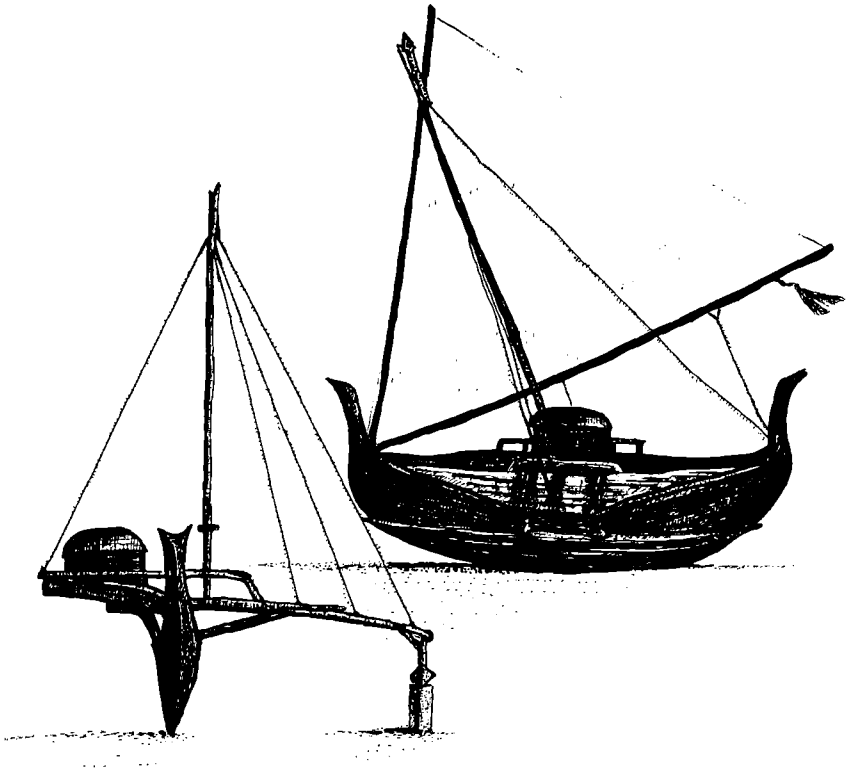


Figure 1. Oceania as an Aquatic Continent, Showing 200-Nautical-Mile Exclusive Economic Zone Claims, 1984

Chapter 1. Overview



Outrigger canoe from the Caroline Islands, taken from an 1815 drawing by Louis Choris

THE SHEER SIZE of Oceania is impressive, as is the scope of the region's contrasts. The Pacific is the biggest and deepest of the world's oceans and is the earth's largest single geographic feature. It occupies more than one-third of the globe's surface, an area greater than all of the world's landmasses lumped together. Within the Pacific region there are about 25,000 islands, more than one-half of the world's total. The discrepancy between land and sea, however, is great. Collectively, the islands comprise somewhat more than 1.6 million square kilometers, but those islands are set in a sea area of more than 88 million square kilometers. The Pacific stretches approximately 16,000 kilometers along the equator, and the north-to-south expanse from the Bering Strait to the Antarctic Circle is about 15,000 kilometers (see fig. 1).

When discussing the cultures and languages of Oceania, anthropologists and linguists usually think of the "insular Pacific" or the "island Pacific" as opposed to the "Pacific rim" or "Pacific basin." The Pacific rim usually refers to the large continental masses and the large nations (or at least their coastlines) that define the ocean's perimeters. The Pacific islands have very few cultural or linguistic connections with the rim as defined in this sense. The term *Pacific basin* is vague and may or may not include both rim and insular land areas.

Most commonly, Western scholars have divided the insular Pacific into three main cultural areas: Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia (see fig. 2). These divisions are somewhat arbitrary and tend to obscure the fact that there are no clear-cut boundaries. Nonetheless, Melanesia, meaning the "black islands," derives from the word *melanin*, which is the chemical in the skin that accounts for dark pigmentation—a characteristic shared by Melanesians. The islands that are clearly Melanesian are, from west to east: the entire island of New Guinea and its outliers to the east; the Solomon Islands; New Caledonia; and the islands that make up Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides). Fiji is usually included as part of Melanesia, but in reality it is more of a transition area. The Fijians are primarily of Melanesian racial stock but share much in common culturally with Polynesians. Today Fiji uses this somewhat borderline status to its own political advantage and can align with either Melanesian or Polynesian interests. In brief, Melanesia can be considered to have five components that extend from New Guinea to Fiji, all lying south of the equa-

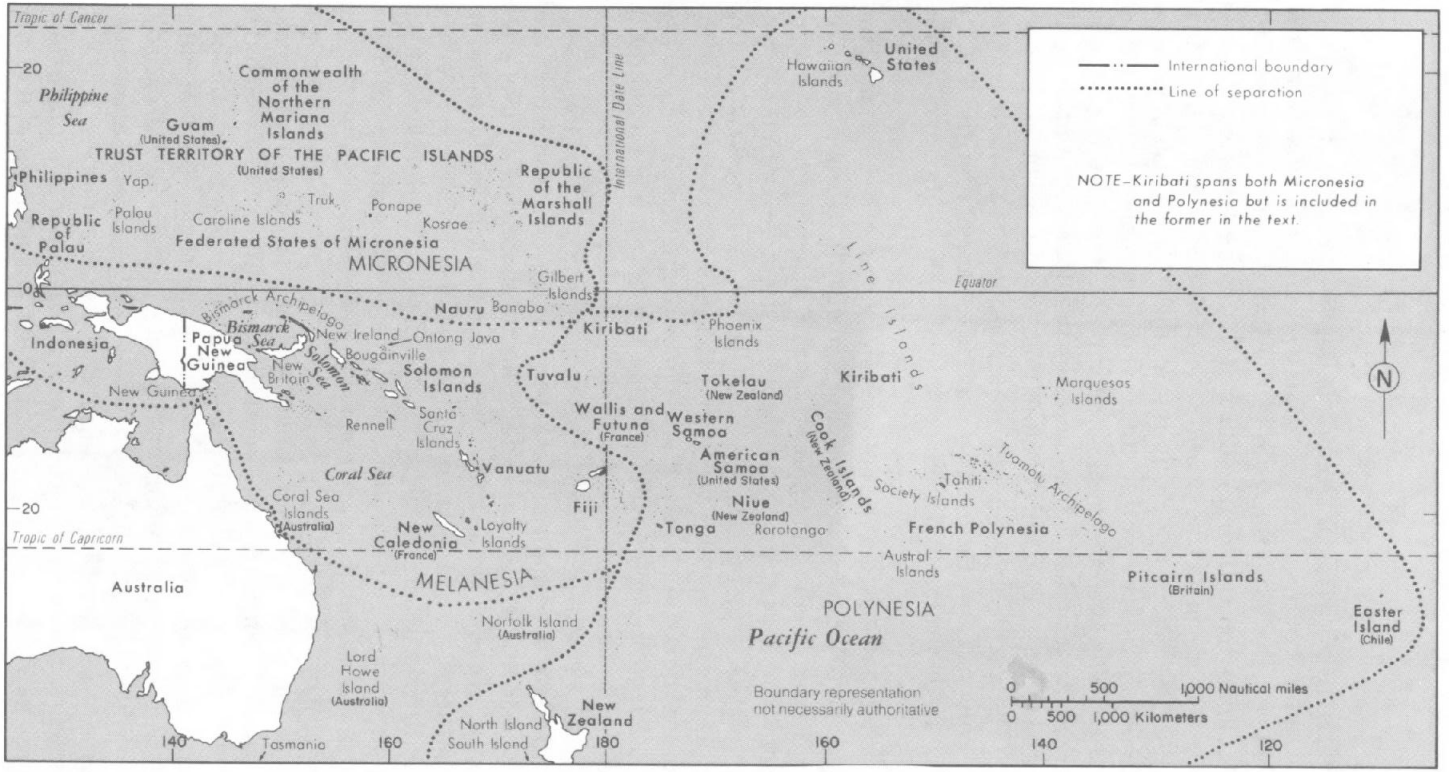


Figure 2. Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia

tor and west of the international date line (with the exception of a few of Fiji's smaller eastern islands).

Micronesia, meaning the "little islands," lies north of Melanesia and, with a few exceptions, north of the equator. The label "little islands" is appropriate because a majority of Micronesia's more than 2,000 islands are atoll formations. A band known as the Caroline Islands is situated above New Guinea and the Solomons. It includes at least five culturally distinct groups—Palau and Yap in the west and, moving eastwards through the Carolinian atolls, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae. To the north of the Carolines are the Mariana Islands, the people, language, and culture of which are referred to as Chamorro. The double chain of atolls known as the Marshall Islands forms part of Micronesia's eastern boundary. Another atoll archipelago, the Gilbert Islands (now part of Kiribati), lies to the south and east and extends a few degrees south of the equator. Lastly, the single island of Nauru is southwest of the main body of the Marshalls, also slightly below the equator.

Polynesia ("many islands") is geographically the largest of the Pacific's cultural areas, and distances between island groups are by far the greatest. Polynesia is defined as a triangle drawn from Hawaii in the north, Easter Island in the southeast, and New Zealand in the southwest. However, the western leg of the triangle between New Zealand and Hawaii cannot be a straight line. Using a bit of license, the cartographer must make the line bulge to the west to include Tuvalu (formerly the Ellice Islands) with the rest of Polynesia.

The boundaries between the cultural areas are convenient oversimplifications for the purposes of study. Fiji is one problematic example, and there are others. Although Kiribati, for instance, is always classified as Micronesian, many of its inhabitants exhibit Polynesian cultural traits derived from their Polynesian neighbors of Tuvalu and the Samoa Islands, and many Polynesian words have found their way into the local language, which is without question Micronesian. The elaborate chieftaincies of traditional Ponape and Kosrae in the eastern Carolines of Micronesia have traits that suggest Polynesian influence. At the western end of the Pacific, Palau and Yap appear to have been influenced by Melanesians, and the inhabitants of a few small islands off the north coast of extreme Western New Guinea appear very much like Carolinian atoll dwellers in physical type and material culture; in fact, they have been referred to as para-Micronesians.

All of the above suggests that once the Pacific had been peopled, its inhabitants did not remain in place for the conven-

ience of future observers. After the major movement of peoples into the region, some restless Polynesians moved back in a westerly direction to inhabit islands in Micronesia and Melanesia that are now referred to as Polynesian outliers. The atoll communities of Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro south of Ponape in the eastern Carolines are two such examples in Micronesia. A larger number of Polynesian outliers are found directly south and southwest of Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro between the Solomons and New Caledonia in Melanesia. Numbering over one dozen, the most well-known are Ontong Java, Tikopia, Bellona, and Rennell.

The place of New Zealand and Australia in the insular Pacific deserves special treatment. When considering the pre-European era, all observers agree that the indigenous Maori people of New Zealand were Polynesians who had modified their culture in ways that were adaptive to their homeland's temperate climate. In fact, there is little doubt that the Maori had their origins in the area of the Cook and Society islands. Aborigines of Australia illustrate a different story. Although the ancient ancestors of the Aborigines and the very first settlers of New Guinea appear to have had some connections, the Aborigines became quite isolated from developments in the insular Pacific and pursued their own course of cultural evolution. They remained adamantly attached to a hunting and gathering way of life, while peoples of the insular Pacific became agriculturists. Most Pacific anthropologists do not categorize the Aborigines among the peoples of the Pacific. In the colonial period, the period of decolonization, and the present, however, both Australia and New Zealand must be viewed as major actors in the region. In this context they are modern nation-states located in the Pacific and deeply involved in regional affairs.

Physical Environment

The islands of the insular Pacific are unequally distributed within the vast expanse of ocean, and large portions of it are indeed quite empty. Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan, the first European known to transit the Pacific, discovered this basic fact of geography the hard way. He sighted only a few uninhabited reefs on his journey across the Pacific from South America to the Philippines before he sighted Guam in 1521. Had he missed Guam, he would have thought that the ocean was without human inhabitants.

A discontinuity of underlying rock formations, known as the

Andesite Line, separates the continental islands of the western Pacific from the volcanic basalt islands of the central and eastern Pacific. The Andesite Line runs along the eastern side of the two Polynesian groups of New Zealand and Tonga, to the east and north of Melanesia, and then to the east of the three westernmost groups of Micronesia (Palau, Yap, and the Marianas). The islands lying to the west of the line are composed of mixed rock types characteristic of continental masses. They are markedly deformed by folding and faulting, and they contain ancient metamorphic rocks, such as schist, gneiss, and slate; sediments, such as clay, coal, and sandstone; and intrusive granite and siliceous eruptive rocks, such as andesite. Some geologists believe that the line is the easternmost limit of a continental landmass that once extended from Asia into the Pacific.

The discontinuous line proceeds northward, running east of Japan. It then runs south of the Aleutian Islands and down the western side of the islands that lie off the west coast of the Americas. The area within the loop of the line has been called the "real Pacific basin" and has deep troughs and oceanic volcanic peaks composed primarily of heavy dark basalt. The peaks may be high volcanic islands above the ocean's surface or they may be partially or completely submerged. Upon submerged platforms coral reefs and atolls are found. The average depth of the Pacific Ocean is about 4,200 meters; the extreme depth is about 10,700 meters between Guam and Mindanao.

Island Types

Geographer William Thomas has distinguished four major kinds of islands in the region. There are two kinds of "high" islands: continental and volcanic. The best examples of the former are the large islands of Melanesia, which are characterized by extremely rugged interior mountain ranges, divided plateaus, and precipitous interior valleys. Lower and coastal areas tend to be divided by twisting rivers, alternating swampy areas and coastal plains, or narrow coastal shelves. Significantly, the topography creates barriers that function to keep human populations separated and divided into small linguistic and political communities.

Of the high volcanic islands, those of Hawaii are the most familiar. Steep cliffs and mountain ranges are divided by deep valleys, the floors of the latter usually opening to coastal flat zones of varying widths. Erosion of older islands, especially on their exposed windward sides, has produced gentle slopes. Tahiti and many other islands in the Society and Marquesas islands, as well

as Rarotonga in the Cook Islands, are examples of high volcanic islands. Ponape and Kosrae are examples of high volcanic islands in Micronesia. Most islands of this kind have freshwater sources, but volcanic soils are generally poor for agriculture.

Volcanic islands are often surrounded by fringing reefs that may lie at distances anywhere from a relatively few to several hundred meters from the shoreline. The water areas between shore and reef often provide good fishing grounds. Significantly, however, fringing reefs form another major kind of island—atolls.

There are two kinds of "low" islands. First, there is the atoll, a series of islands that are built upward from a coral reef and that typically enclose a central lagoon of varying shape. Charles Darwin first suggested, and most marine biologists today remain convinced, that atolls were once fringing reefs around volcanic islands that have become submerged. The lagoon is situated where the volcanic peak once stood above the water.

The reefs are built by coral and calcareous algae, which thrive in warm, relatively shallow, clear saline water. Coral is the skeleton of a fleshy polyp, a marine creature that secretes lime from seawater. Such polyps live in large colonies, their interconnected skeletons adhering to the calcareous remains of their ancestors. As the volcanic substructures sink, the polyps continue their reefbuilding and eventually become all that remains above the surface. The coral structures lie at extreme depths. Drillings at Eniwetok in the northern Marshalls reached depths of 1,300 to 1,400 meters before the volcanic basalt bedrock was struck.

Atolls can vary in size, from Kwajalein in the Marshalls, which has a lagoon about 145 kilometers long and 32 kilometers wide, to the smallest, which may be no more than two or three kilometers in diameter. The islets of an atoll are seldom more than three to five meters above high-tide level, and land areas are almost dwarfed by lagoon areas. Soil covers are poor and extremely thin, and the only fresh water that is available is rainwater that is either collected or, on some of the larger islands, floats as a thin lens beneath the soil and the denser salt water that permeates the porous coral rock below sea level. The atolls are extremely vulnerable to severe weather disturbances, such as typhoons, unusually high seas, or droughts.

Not all Pacific islands are in the process of subsiding. To the contrary, numerous raised coral atolls are scattered over the region, and they represent the second kind of low island. In such cases the central lagoon has partially or totally disappeared, and the atoll's border has been elevated above the surrounding sea. Examples of raised coral islands are Nauru, Banaba (formerly

Rabaul on New Britain in Papua New Guinea is located in the caldera of a collapsed volcano. In mid-1984 geologists continued to detect expansion of the floor of the bay, usually an indication of impending volcanic activity. Courtesy Steven R. Pruett

Ocean Island), and Niue.

Truk in the central Carolines is an interesting formation. Its fringing reef is quite extensive, and a number of islets are dispersed over it. The volcanic basalt formation at the center appears still to be in the process of sinking, and well over a dozen small and relatively low islets still dot the lagoon. Thomas describes Truk as an "almost atoll" and lists at least eight different combinations of atolls and reef formations.

Atolls occur in most areas of the Pacific, but some archipelagoes are composed solely of the low islands. As noted, most of the Micronesian islands are atolls. The Marshalls and Kiribati consist exclusively of atolls. In the long stretch from the high islands of Palau and Yap in the west and Ponape in the east, "the almost atoll" of Truk is the only exception to a string of atolls that extends for over 3,200 kilometers. In Polynesia all the islands of Tuvalu, Tokelau, and the Tuamotu Archipelago are low islands, as are most of the Cooks.

Climate

With the major exceptions of New Zealand and Easter Island, the Pacific islands lie within the tropics, and humiditdy is relatively high. Most of the islands have rather uniform and warm year-round temperatures, ranging between nighttime lows near 20°C and highs in the mid- to high twenties. Other variables are quite important. On atolls and the windward side of the higher islands, the warm temperatures and high humidities are somewhat offset by the cooling properties of trade winds. The leeward sides of the high islands and the jungle interiors of the continental islands can be extremely uncomfortable. In contrast, the highlands of the Melanesian islands, particularly New Guinea, can be quite cool, and frost is an occasional threat to crops.

Again, with the exception of New Zealand and Easter Island, there are no abrupt seasonal changes that compare with those in temperate zones. Rather, the year is divided into rainy and dry seasons. North of the equator the heaviest rainfall occurs from June to October and, south of the equator, from November to March. The rainy and dry seasons are directly related to the intensity of the prevailing trade winds. Above the equator the trades come out of the northeast and blow toward the west. Below the equator they come from the southeast, also blowing toward the west.

The trade winds give way to the monsoon winds in the westernmost Pacific, where the alternate cooling and heating of continental Asia produces a seasonal reversal of winds. From November to March the northwest monsoon from Asia brings rain to the western Carolines, New Guinea, and the Solomons. In the summer the southeast monsoon reverses the process.

There are also horizontal zones of wet and dry areas. Some of the heaviest rainfall occurs in a belt that lies between 1°38′ and 8°30′ north latitude. Rainfall in that region may be as much as 4,500 millimeters annually. North and south of that wet zone is a relatively dry belt that often receives one-third the rainfall of that of the wet zone. Farther north and south of the dry zones, wetter zones are again encountered. Dry spells do occur locally and sometimes across large portions of the area. For example, the atolls south of Ponape in the eastern Carolines experience occasional annual droughts.

The atolls are always more vulnerable to the vagaries of weather because their landmasses are too small to affect meteorological conditions. In contrast, high islands intervene to help shape their own weather system. Hot and humid air rises

from the larger landmasses, mixing with the cooler air of higher elevations to form clouds and rainfall. As a consequence, the windward sides of high islands are the first to interact with the incoming trade winds to produce rain. Windward sides receive the most rainfall, have the greatest amount of erosion, and often have the richest and deepest soil covers. The leeward side is generally dry.

The most serious storms in the region are cyclonic storms known as typhoons or hurricanes. Their causes are only partially understood, but they are usually generated in the east and move westward. The winds that spiral around the center of these storms have velocities commonly ranging from about 25 to more than 115 kilometers per hour. Those that cause great destruction and often denude and reshape the configuration of entire atolls have been clocked at over 250 kilometers per hour. Typhoons can occur at any time of the year, but they are most frequent during the rainy season.

Resources

Mineral deposits occur only on the larger continental islands. It has long been known that New Caledonia possesses large amounts of nickel and some chrome and cobalt. Nickel has been the mainstay of that island's economy for years. Fiji has had a gold-mining operation of modest scale. Otherwise, and until quite recently, the mineral resources of the Pacific have been described as extremely limited. It now appears, however, that such a conclusion was premature. The picture began to change in the 1960s and 1970s with the development of an open-pit copper mine on Bougainville in Papua New Guinea. In mid-1984 the Bougainville mine was one of the largest in the world. Copper has also been found in several other areas of mainland Papua New Guinea, but these deposits had yet to be developed as of the mid-1980s.

Major gold deposits have recently been found in Papua New Guinea, and the Ok Tedi mine in the western part of the nation promised to be a major gold producer throughout the 1980s. After 1990 it is projected that Ok Tedi will be mined for copper as well as gold; the lode contains lesser quantities of other metals as well. Smaller gold deposits have been found elsewhere, and it was possible that Papua New Guinea was on the brink of a gold rush in the mid-1980s.

Explorations in Fiji in 1983 produced a major new gold find. This, as well as the recent discoveries in Papua New Guinea,

suggests that there may be room for considerable optimism for similar finds throughout the rest of Melanesia, whose islands share a common geological history. Attempts were under way in 1984 to launch a program to train local geologists to conduct more thorough searches of their home islands.

In 1983 oil was struck in the southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. The oil is of extraordinarily high quality, and the field is estimated to hold 100 million barrels. Elsewhere, explorations for oil have occurred mainly off the coastal areas of Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and Tonga. As of 1984 none had yielded positive results, but further exploration was focused off the north coast of Papua New Guinea.

Although a brighter picture was developing in Melanesia, there was no reason for such optimism elsewhere. The relatively new volcanic islands rarely contain workable mineral deposits. The only valuable mineral deposits sometimes found on coral islands are phosphate rock. The raised atolls of Banaba and Nauru have been major producers, but the supplies of the former were exhausted, and it was predicted that those of the latter would be depleted within a decade or less.

The flora and fauna of the region are derived from Southeast Asian sources, and the number of species rapidly declines eastward across the Pacific. Prior to human occupation, birds helped to vegetate islands by carrying plant seeds and depositing their droppings on barren landscapes. Other seeds were carried by winds and ocean currents. Humans facilitated the process when they migrated into the area, bringing with them most plants needed for subsistence. Coconuts, breadfruit, pandani (screw pines), bananas, papayas, and tuberous crops, such as taro and yams, were brought from insular Southeast Asia. The full inventory of subsistence crops is usually found only on high islands, and some dry atolls support only coconuts, pandani, and arrowroot—all in all an extremely limited fare.

Such atolls could not have supported human habitation had it not been for the abundant marine life found in lagoons and the surrounding ocean. Lagoons and reef areas provide fish, lobsters, shrimps, eels, octopuses, bivalves, and other sea creatures. Tuna, bonito, and other large fish are caught at sea.

Terrestrial fauna is relatively limited. Bats, rats, and, in New Guinea, a variety of marsupials were the only mammals to precede humans into the western Pacific. Early human migrations helped carry the rat eastward, as well as to introduce pigs, dogs, and chickens. Snakes and lizards are found on most islands, but crocodiles are limited to New Guinea and Palau in the west. Many

seabirds provide a minor part of the diet.

The introduction of different species of plants and animals since European times brought further alterations to island ecologies. Cash crops, such as cacao, coffee, vanilla, sugar, pineapple, and citrus fruits were added to the plant inventory. Goats, deer, horses, and cattle are now at home on many high islands.

Prehistory

The Pacific region is distinguished by being "last" in several important respects. It was the last major world area to be occupied by human beings. Hundreds of years after the ancestors of today's Pacific islanders had reached almost every landmass in the vast ocean, it became the last major area of the world to be probed by representatives of the Western world. The Pacific was also the last major world area to experience colonization at the hands of Western powers and the last major area of the globe to achieve independence and/or self-government. The process began when Western Samoa gained its independence in 1962, and it was almost complete as of the mid-1980s.

The region was also one of the last to be investigated by archaeologists. With the exception of New Zealand, there were no scientific archaeological excavations until after World War II, and well into the 1960s knowledge of Pacific prehistory was still in its infancy. In the last two decades, however, research in archaeology and linguistics has accumulated to the extent that the early movements of Pacific peoples can be outlined with a reasonable degree of confidence. Such confidence is warranted in that the data from archaeological and linguistic research complement each other and point to the same general conclusions.

By 40,000 years ago and perhaps as early as 50,000 years ago, populations of hunters and gatherers had managed to reach Australia and New Guinea from regions in insular Southeast Asia. Distances of open water separating Australia and New Guinea from island Southeast Asia at the time were less than today because of the lower sea levels associated with the Ice Ages of the Pleistocene era. Nonetheless, it appears that the immigrants still had a minimum of 70 kilometers of open water to cross before they could colonize the virgin territories. (As a point of comparison, human populations were not established on Crete and Cyprus in the Mediterranean until about 8,000 years ago, and Cyprus is about 80 kilometers from the mainland.)

It appears that the first people who entered the area were the direct ancestors of modern Australoids. The latter are the Aborigines of Australia, the Highlands peoples of New Guinea, and almost certainly the Negritos found in the interiors of Malaysia and the Philippines. The Melanesians of today are basically Australoid, but some reveal a genetic complexity that resulted from mixtures with later arrivals in the region.

By 6,000 years ago the Australoids had reached the nearby islands of New Britain and New Ireland and perhaps the Solomons. By 4,000 years ago they had probably reached New Caledonia and Vanuatu. Reflecting the great length of time they were in the islands, their languages became widely diversified. It has proved impossible to trace or demonstrate past relationships that may have existed with many of today's languages. Collectively, they are referred to as Papuan languages, but this is a catchall category and should not be mistaken for a language family as such.

Somewhere around 5,000 years ago, a second movement of people in insular Southeast Asia began. These people were of a Mongoloid racial stock and were speakers of related languages that form the Austronesian (formerly known as the Malayo-Polynesian) language family. Linguists' reconstruction of proto-Austronesian vocabulary indicates that the early Austronesian speakers made pottery, built seagoing outrigger canoes, and practiced a variety of fishing techniques. Eventually, the Austronesians came to dominate all of insular Southeast Asia, pushing westward through the Indian Ocean as far as Madagascar off the coast of Africa and crossing the entire Pacific to become the ancestors of Micronesians and Polynesians.

It appears that the movement of Austronesians into the Pacific first began with settlement along the northern coast of New Guinea. Later, it seems that they moved directly from insular Southeast Asia into the three westernmost archipelagoes of Micronesia—Palau, Yap, and the Marianas, which lie due north of New Guinea. Between 3,500 and 3,000 years ago, the Lapita culture (named after a site in New Caledonia) appeared in the archaeological record all across Melanesia. Distinct forms of pottery were part of the culture, and evidence shows that its people possessed the navigating skills necessary to move easily back and forth across Melanesia. Their agricultural system was based almost entirely on tubers and fruits (taro, yams, breadfruit, bananas, coconuts, and sago palms).

Linguistic evidence indicates that eastern Micronesia was settled by a northward movement from eastern Melanesia in the vicinity of Vanuatu. By about 3,000 years ago, Fiji, Tonga, and

Samoa had been settled by Lapita people, and thus Polynesia had been penetrated by human beings. During the next thousand years the early forms of Polynesian culture evolved in Tonga and the Samoa Islands. Sometime around the birth of Christ the early Polynesians began their own voyages in large double canoes that could carry the food plants and domestic animals required to found new settlements. The Marquesas Islands in eastern Polynesia were reached by about 300 A.D. Easter Island, one of the most isolated spots on earth, was probably reached a century later. By the end of another 500 years, central Polynesia and the northernmost islands of Hawaii were settled. New Zealand was colonized by around 900 A.D.

Thus, the body of archaeological, botanical, linguistic, and zoological evidence points to insular Southeast Asia as the original homeland for Pacific peoples. There is some evidence that Polynesians had contact with the Pacific coast of South America after the islands were settled, and it appears that they brought the sweet potato back from the area of Peru and Ecuador. Contrary to some popular and fanciful accounts, it is quite certain that Polynesians are not of American Indian ancestry.

Languages

All Pacific languages may be classified either as a member of the Austronesian language family or as one of the Papuan languages, the catchall category that essentially lumps all the non-Austronesian languages. With its distribution from Madagascar to Easter Island, the Austronesian language family is the most widespread in the world. Reflecting the prehistoric migrations of people into the Pacific, all Micronesian languages, all Polynesian languages, and the newer languages in Melanesia (those that are not Papuan) belong to the Austronesian family.

Linguistic diversity in the Pacific is directly related to the length of time that migrants stayed in a particular area. Polynesia, the last to be settled, is linguistically the most homogeneous. Linguists do not agree on the total number of Polynesian languages, however. The languages of each major archipelago and some isolated small islands, such as Niue and Easter, are mutually unintelligible. However, the languages are quite closely related, and Polynesians moving about the area are quick to learn languages other than their own. Bruce Biggs, a linguist and an authority on Polynesian languages, identifies 17 languages within the Polynesian triangle and 11 others among the outliers.

Micronesia is ranked second in its degree of linguistic diversity. The languages of the three westernmost groups, which were settled first and directly out of insular Southeast Asia (Palau, Yap, and the Marianas), form a subgrouping. They reveal a greater antiquity in the area and are quite different from one another. With the exception of the two Polynesian outliers, all other Micronesian languages are classified as "nuclear Micronesian." They share many grammatical and lexical features and appear to reflect their common origin in eastern Melanesia. Again, linguists disagree about the exact number of separate and mutually unintelligible languages. The languages of the Gilberts, the Marshalls, Nauru, Ponape, and Kosrae are distinct. Trukese is a separate language, but disagreement surrounds the languages from Truk and across the Carolinian atolls. Ulithi and Woleai are distinct from Trukese, but whether the languages of the other atolls should be considered separate languages or simply dialects of the same language is disputed.

With its mixture of Austronesian and Papuan languages and greater length of human settlement, Melanesia is linguistically the most complex. The total number of languages may be conservatively estimated to be in the neighborhood of 1,200. Many of the languages are spoken by only a few hundred people at best, and, not surprisingly, language problems have beset all governments in the cultural area. Variations of a Pidgin English, also known as neo-Melanesian, are spoken in Papua New Guinea, the Solomons, and Vanuatu, where it is known as Bislama. It serves as a lingua franca and provides a common bond and identity for the inhabitants of the countries. In Papua New Guinea another lingua franca, known as Motu or Police Motu, was in use in the southern part of the country, but it is less common than the pidgin and may be declining in popularity.

Traditional Societies

The cultures that had evolved in the Pacific by the time of European contact exhibited considerable variability. Generalizations are risky at best when describing so large an area and so many different societies. However, many of the societies in Polynesia and Micronesia had developed certain features that distinguished them from the majority of those in Melanesia. In both Polynesia and Micronesia there was a high degree of social stratification, and social status and rank were associated with control over land, a resource that is relatively scarce on volcanic islands

and atolls. In the larger continental islands of Melanesia, the same ruggedness of terrain that kept people separated into many linguistic groups also helped keep groups small; thus, land played a less important role in determining social position.

Polynesia

In the Western world Polynesia has always been the best known or, perhaps more correctly, the most famous region of the Pacific. The reports of such early explorers as James Cook, William Bligh, George Vancouver, and Louis Antoine de Bougainville inflamed the imaginations of Europeans and Americans. The kingdoms of Polynesian chiefs and the trappings of their courts were colorful and impressive. The relative ease of life, the seemingly endless bounty of tropical islands, and the accounts of casual sexuality had a tremendous impact upon those who were laboring in the sweatshops of the newly industrialized nations and perhaps all who were caught up in the moral climate of the Victorian era.

Most Polynesian societies were organized around two basic principles: bilateral descent and primogeniture. The basic descent groups have been called ramages to denote their branching characteristics. That is, descent in a ramage was traced to a founding ancestor. That ancestor had a number of children. The firstborn child, whether boy or girl, had the highest rank within the family. Each child in turn became the founder of a branch of the ramage, and the branches were ranked according to the birth order of the founders. This was repeated with succeeding generations, thus adding new branches to the ramage in an ever continuing process of expansion. In recounting genealogies, the line was usually traced through the ancestor of highest rank in each generation, whether male or female. Thus, descent was neither matrilineal nor patrilineal but was bilateral. The system allowed for considerable flexibility. This very flexibility has been viewed as an adaptation to land scarcity because choices of descent group affiliation would tend to establish a balance between available land and population density.

The ramage system has often been misunderstood, however, and has been described as a patrilineal system because of its definite preference for descent through males and for the rule of primogeniture. There was a strong belief in the innate superiority of the firstborn, particularly the firstborn son. Ideally, succession to a chieftaincy was from a male to his eldest son, and a line of senior-ranking males was traced to the founding ancestor.

Close relatives, such as cousins, did not marry, but marriage

within the ramage was common. Thus, a ramage was a group of people related to one another in a complicated variety of ways through either their fathers, their mothers, or sometimes both. Each ramage member could be ranked according to his or her relative position within the ramage genealogy. The oldest male of the senior line, i.e., a long line of firstborn males, had the highest rank. He held the title of chief (variously known as *ariki*, *alii*, and other names). Males of lesser seniority were chiefs of a lower order and perhaps had authority over subdivisions of the ramage. The junior lines of the ramage were commoners, but the distinctions between aristocrats and commoners were often vague; everyone could claim some relationship to those of chiefly status. Genealogies, especially those of chiefs, were extremely important, and they were recalled for scores of generations.

Chiefs, especially those of senior ranking, possessed mana. It was "power for accomplishment" and could reside in people or inanimate objects. Thus, any person or object capable of more than ordinary performance had mana by definition. A chief skilled in diplomacy, leadership, and warfare or a hook that caught exceptional quantities of fish had mana, and the fact was self-evident by performance. In some places mana was thought to be inherited so that each successive generation had more than previous generations had.

Mana commanded great respect. Its bearer was both sacred and dangerous. Charged with such invisible power, a chief had to be separated from others by rites of avoidance or *tabu* (taboo). Powerful chiefs could not come into direct contact with commoners, and objects they touched had to be avoided. Chiefs could declare sections of their domain off-limits or *tabu*, and the collection of resources was forbidden until the *tabu* was lifted.

Chiefs had authority and commanded respect and deference. They exercised political and economic leadership, but with certain exceptions they were not "despots," and those of lesser rank were in no way their serfs. All people had rights to land. Although chiefs had some control over basic decisions regarding the use and exploitation of land, lagoons, and reef areas and received symbolic tribute during first fruit and harvest ceremonies, they did not live off the labor of others. Rather, they cultivated food of their own and fished from the sea as did their fellows.

In his monumental book *Ancient Polynesian Society*, anthropologist Irving Goldman classified the kind of Polynesian society described above as "traditional." Most Polynesian societies were of this type. They included the Maori, who had settled New Zealand relatively late, and smaller scale societies found on atolls

and the smaller volcanic islands, such as Tikopia. In these societies seniority of descent provided mana and sanctity, established rank, and allocated authority and power in an orderly manner. The traditional society was essentially a religious system headed by a sacred chief and given stability by a religiously sanctioned gradation of worth.

Goldman distinguished two other kinds of Polynesian societies: "open" and "stratified." The open societies appear to be transitional societies between the traditional and the stratified. In the open system the importance of seniority had become downplayed to allow military and political effectiveness to govern status and political control. It was more strongly military and political than religious, and stability was maintained more directly by the exercise of secular power. Status differences were no longer graded but tended to be sharply defined. Examples of the more open societies were those of Easter Island, the Marquesas, the Samoa Islands, and Niue.

The Marquesas Islands may have been the most fully evolved example of an open society. Genealogical and achieved statuses were of about equal importance. Genealogical status was not adequate in itself, and the ultimate test of political power was the ability of a chief to attract and hold followers. If a chief could not build a following, if he could not control kin and allies alike, he had little to show for his title. He was either a political chief or, for all practical purposes, none at all. In the Samoa Islands descent and seniority of line were of even less importance. Leaders known as *matai* were, and continue to be, selected by their kinsmen to lead extended kin groupings by reason of their abilities and accomplishments.

Stratified societies developed where populations and resources were the largest. Hawaii, Tahiti, and Tonga were the best examples. Clearly defined and hierarchically ordered social classes were well developed. Because the chiefs ruled thousands of people, genealogical connections could no longer be traced between all segments of society. The chiefs formed a class unto themselves and married within that class. The highest ranking chief possessed all land; commoners were landless subjects. The administration was impersonal and totalitarian.

Hawaii represented the greatest development of a stratified system. There were 11 grades of *alii*. Entire islands or major divisions of the largest islands were held by an *alii nui*, or single chief, and his rule was often despotic. His domain was subdivided among lesser chiefs in return for tribute and service. Actual administration of government was often turned over to a *kalaimoku*,

or land manager. Lesser chiefs could be removed when they displeased the *alii nui*. When the latter died or was overthrown, the lands of the domain were reallocated by his successor. The chiefs had great sanctity, and it was believed that they were descended from gods. In addition to the chiefly and commoner classes, there was a slave or outcast class.

Shortly after European contact, all of the Hawaiian Islands were unified under a single *alii*, who came to be known as King Kamehameha. Although he used Europeans to solidify his rule over all the islands, it appears that the process was already well under way and would have occurred without foreign assistance. There were similar developments in Tahiti and Tonga; the latter remains a monarchy to this very day (see Tonga, ch. 4).

Throughout most of Polynesia there was a pantheon of gods that varied only slightly from one archipelago to another. In Hawaii, Kane was the creator, Lono was the god of rain and agriculture, and Ku was the god of war and warriors. There were a variety of other nature deities, and at all levels of society ancestral gods were important. The proper worship of major gods was conducted by priests drawn from the ranks of the junior *alii* lines, and at the level of commoners, heads of extended families looked after the ancestors. The society of the Samoa Islands was an exception to the general Polynesian pattern, for it was more secular, less attention was paid to the supernatural, and the concept of mana was weak.

Warfare was almost universal. At stake were the power and reputation of rival chiefs. Indeed, status rivalry was particularly acute in Polynesian societies, and this concern made intelligible much of Polynesian behavior. Most of Polynesia has undergone fundamental transformations since European contact, but vestiges of the past have remained. Samoans have proven to be remarkably resilient, and the organization of this society has retained much of its traditional form. On many islands—particularly those that are remote—the ramage organization still defines the relations among kin and rights to land. Chiefly powers have been greatly diminished everywhere, and they no longer exist at all in highly Westernized Hawaii.

Micronesia

With two major exceptions, Micronesia remained a cultural area in which matrilineal institutions dominated. At birth, individuals, regardless of gender, became members of their mothers' matrilineage. The lineage was usually three to five generations

deep, and in most places the corporate group held the land. As in Polynesia, siblings were ranked by their birth order, the head of each lineage being its senior ranking male. Succession to lineage headship was matrilineal, i.e., a male was succeeded by his younger brothers in the order of their birth and then by their eldest sister's eldest son.

Aggregations of lineages shared a common name and formed a social category that anthropologists refer to as matriclans. The lineages belonging to the same clan were dispersed among several islands or an entire archipelago; usually no genealogical connections were known between them. Nonetheless, clan members had a feeling of common kinship, and the clan was exogamous, i.e., one had to marry outside the clan. The clan was a vehicle for the provision of hospitality, for one was obligated to protect and provide food and shelter for one's fellow clan members, whether strangers or friends. The exogamous and dispersed clans functioned as a security net; one could rely on clan members when in need or when traveling between islands.

The social organization of the Carolinian atolls was quite egalitarian. Within Truk itself, each island within the lagoon was divided into two or more districts, and each was occupied by a politically autonomous community. The landholding matrilineages of the community were ranked according to the order in which they were settled in the district. The highest ranking lineage was the first to have settled in the district; its head is also the community's chief. Most of the Carolinian atolls were organized like the communities of Truk.

The Carolinian atolls from Ulithi in the west to those as far east as Namonuito (immediately west of Truk) belonged to a supra-atoll network that has misleadingly been called the Yapese Empire. Until recent times an annual expedition was organized to render tribute to Gatchepan village on the high island of Yap. The atoll communities were progressively ranked from highest to lowest from west to east. Ulithi was ranked the highest; Namonuito, Pulap, Puluwat, and Pulusuk in the east were ranked the lowest. The expedition began with canoes from the eastern atolls sailing west to Lamotrek. There, the higher ranking Lamotrek chief took charge, and the expedition moved farther west to the next stop. The same process was repeated until Ulithi was reached, whereupon the Ulithi chief took command and the canoes proceeded to Yap, where tribute was rendered. The priests of Gatchepan purportedly protected the atolls from disaster and could send typhoons and/or drought if tribute was not rendered.

Conquest was never involved, and thus it is a misnomer to

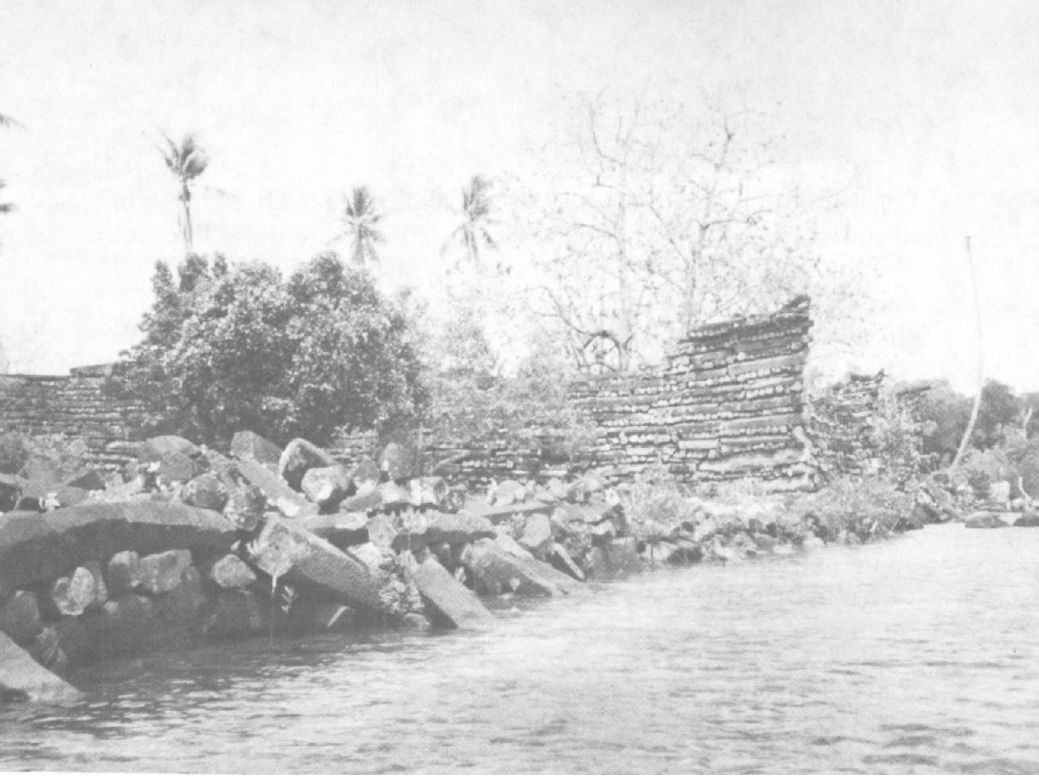
refer to this interatoll network as an empire. Rather, the relations between the actors in the network appear to have developed as an effective means of adapting to the ecology of the far-flung atolls. The atoll dwellers received food and commodities not available on the atolls, and they could look to Yap for assistance in times of disaster. It should be noted that the annual expedition moved from east to west, the same direction as the dependable trade winds. Like the system of clans, the empire was essentially a social security system for the coral islanders.

Paramount chieftaincy and distinct social classes characterized the traditional organization of the high islands and the Marshallese atolls. On the high islands of Palau, the Marianas, Ponape, Kosrae, and the Marshalls, certain clans or lineages were of paramount chiefly status, and their members constituted a privileged ruling class. Each of the islands or island groups was divided among the chiefs, who had ultimate control of the land within their respective domains. Their powers were substantial and in most cases included the ability to render judgments of life or death upon members of the commoner class.

The most centralized political regimes occurred on Ponape and Kosrae. In both instances a single chiefly line ruled the entire island. In Ponape the ruling dynasty oversaw the construction of Nan Madol, the largest archaeological site in all of Oceania. It is composed of some 90 artificial islands linked by canals over a complex of more than 36 hectares. Its monumental architecture was constructed from log-shaped basalt crystals each weighing several tons. For reasons that are not clear, the Ponape Dynasty collapsed shortly before the arrival of Europeans, and only Kosrae had a centralized political structure at the time of contact. Ponape was divided into the five separate paramount chiefdoms that are found on the island today.

In the Marshalls the several paramount chiefs were headquartered in ecologically favored areas, for the southern atolls lie within the relatively wet climatic zone above the equator and possess the best soils, largest resource bases, and greatest populations. The chiefs' domains extended into and embraced the northern atolls, which are dry and resource poor and have small populations.

Like the Marshalls, the Gilbert Islands are composed of atolls. The northern atolls also fall within the wet zone. Ecologically, they are very much like the southern Marshalls. Paramount chiefdoms also existed in the northern atolls. Their authority did not, however, extend southward to include the southern atolls, which like the northern Marshalls are dry, resource poor, and



Nan Mandol, the largest archaeological site in Oceania stretches across 90 artificial islands. The monumental construction of log-shaped basalt crystals is located in Ponape State of the Federated States of Micronesia
Courtesy Patricia Luce Chapman

lightly populated. The people of the Gilberts lacked the system of dispersed matriclans that served to link the residents of different atolls. The Gilberts were influenced greatly by their Polynesian neighbors to the south, and the social organization of the archipelago was a variant of the Polynesian system of bilateral descent. Because the chiefly realms were restricted to the north, the poorly endowed southern atolls had community councils and were more egalitarian.

Yap was unique not only in Micronesia but also in the Pacific as a whole. The exogamous matriclans of Yapese society were like those found elsewhere in Micronesia but in contrast to the others contained no corporate matrilineages as subunits. Rather, land was held by patrilineages. Each Yapese village was composed of a number of patrilineages that were corporate landholding groups. Within the villages the land parcels, not the social groups, were ranked. The patrilineage that held the highest ranked land was for that reason the highest ranking lineage, and its head was the village chief. A Yapese saying indicates the importance of land on Yap as well as in the entire region: "The man is not chief, the land is chief." Yap was complex in other ways. Villages were divided into higher and lower castes, i.e., the land of the villages was so ranked. The high caste was further divided into five classes; the lower caste was divided into four. Nowhere in the Pacific have distinctions of social class been so pronounced.

With a few exceptions, religious systems in Micronesia were not as complex as those in Polynesia; there was no overall and widespread pantheon of deities. Cosmologies tended to be simple. Ancestral spirits and supernatural beings that resided in objects of nature were important in some areas.

As in Polynesia, warfare was endemic. In an egalitarian society such as Truk, the small political entities engaged in regular conflict. Elsewhere, the paramount chiefs warred among themselves in efforts to extend their respective domains.

The social organization and culture of the Chamorro people of the Marianas were virtually destroyed shortly after European contact, and Kosrae lost its centralized chiefly organization. As have the Samoa Islands in Polynesia, Yap has maintained much of its traditional culture and social organization. The Carolinian atolls have also tended to be culturally conservative. Although their power and authority have been substantially decreased, the paramount chiefs of Palau, Ponape, and the Marshalls continue to be quite influential personages. The paramount chiefs of the Gilberts have largely been eclipsed, but the bilateral organization of the society has changed little.

Melanesia

With the exception of New Caledonia, which has been radically altered by colonial rule, a majority of Melanesian societies have retained much of their traditional culture and social organizations. This is certainly the case for the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and Papua New Guinea, where as much as 90 percent of the populations are still self-sufficient subsistence agriculturists.

Every anthropologist who has attempted to generalize about Melanesia has emphasized its great diversity. After writing a general survey of the area, Anne Chowning concluded that Melanesia is best regarded as a geographical region in which some culture traits occur with greater frequency than they do in some of the surrounding areas. It contains what might be called smaller cultural areas similar to those that have been defined for parts of Africa.

Ian Hogbin, a long-term observer of the area, has described some of those traits and has commented that Melanesians usually impress Europeans as being hardworking agriculturists, preoccupied with trade, the accumulation of wealth, the ramifications of kinship, ancestor worship, and secret societies. At the same time, they are motivated by deep-seated fears and insecurities that find outlet in an extreme development of malevolent magic and in constant warfare. It may be added that other very prominent features of Melanesia are the widespread absence of complex and permanent forms of political organization and the small size of political entities. The area is also unhealthy compared with the rest of the Pacific. Malaria, probably the most serious scourge, takes a heavy toll on lowland dwellers.

Groups no larger than a few hundred people were common in the lowlands, the exceptions being in the Sepik River region of New Guinea, where groups could contain a thousand people. The largest groups are found in the Highlands of New Guinea; these may reach several thousand, but numbers of around a thousand are more typical.

Political units were most commonly headed by a man or several men, who were literally called "big men." The position of a big man was largely achieved; he had to create his own following, although it has recently been realized that the sons of big men do have an advantage over others. A big man must be ambitious and energetic, possess the ability to manipulate others and get them in his debt, organize large-scale activities, be successful in the accumulation of wealth (pigs, valuables, and garden produce), and

show generosity in distributing that wealth. In the past and in many areas, a big man also had to prove himself as a warrior and show special magical knowledge. It was common for a big man to have several wives in order to serve as the work force necessary to cultivate adequate gardens and nurture pigs.

There are exceptions to the big-man kind of polity. One such exception is found in the Trobriand (Kiriwina) Islands, which lie off the east coast of New Guinea. (Its people are among the most well-known in Melanesia; volumes have been written about them by Bronislaw Malinowski, a scholar who helped shape modern anthropology.) The Trobriands have ranked matriclans and paramount chiefs who exert extensive authority. Paramount chiefs in New Caledonia are similar to some chiefs in Polynesia, and a hereditary two-class system with chiefly offices exists in a number of Melanesian societies, mostly on smaller islands. In addition to the Trobriands, other exceptions to the big-man typology are found in the Schouten Islands, the Arawe Islands, Buka, the Buin area of Bougainville, and other parts of the easternmost islands.

Settlement patterns range from elaborately laid out villages, such as those in the Trobriands, to the much more common and very dispersed homesteads found in the New Guinea Highlands. Land tenure systems vary greatly but are often tied to descent groups, and almost every possible variety of the latter is found in the region. In very broad terms matrilineal descent systems are limited and are mostly found in eastern Melanesia: the New Hebrides, the Solomons, New Ireland, the eastern half of New Britain, most of the Massim (the eastern tip of New Guinea out into the Trobriands and other offshore islands), and a few locations along the north coast of New Guinea. Many of the societies of the New Guinea Highlands are patrilineal in ideology but in practice exhibit great flexibility and numerous exceptions to a patrilineal system.

Two forms of wealth are ubiquitous in the area: pigs and small portable valuables. Pig exchanges are an integral part of ceremonial life and are usually involved in the payment of bride-price, a practice common in Melanesia. The small valuables take a variety of forms, depending upon locale, and include dogs' teeth, curved boars' tusks, porpoise teeth, pierced stone disks, red feather belts, and packets of salt—a scarce commodity in the New Guinea Highlands.

Trade and exchange networks are also a common feature. In many instances food and utilitarian items are exchanged along well-established networks that apparently are of considerable

antiquity. Fish and shells are traded inland from coastal areas. Some villages specialize in the manufacture of pottery and exchange their products for food and other items. The exchange of valuables also follows long-established routes. The most well-known of these are great ceremonial trading expeditions known as the *kula* ring in the Trobriands. Two types of heirloom jewelry are circulated among the islands. Red shell necklaces move along a clockwise route, and white shell armbands are exchanged in a counterclockwise direction. Pieces of the jewelry that have made many complete circuits around the ring and have been owned by men of great prestige are especially valuable. Utilitarian items are also exchanged during the *kula* transactions.

Nowhere in Oceania are the differences between the sexes as marked as in Melanesia. Women suffer an inferior status, and yet they are commonly feared by men. Women are viewed as sexually, physically, and spiritually draining. Too much sex and contact with women is to be avoided. Especially during menstruation and after childbirth, women are considered to be dangerous and contaminating, not just to men but to everything with which they might come into contact. In many places men and women sleep apart in separate houses, and men, as if to emphasize their separateness, may belong to secret societies whose centers are huge, elaborately decorated clubhouses.

More than anywhere else in the Pacific, the Melanesian concern with magic and sorcery amounts almost to an obsession. Practically every facet of life has its associated rituals. There are magical spells to ensure the growth of crops, bring success in fishing, guarantee victory in war, and cure sickness. Certain rites bring harm and failure to personal and community enemies. The writings of Malinowski on Trobriand magic and anthropologist Reo Fortune's account of sorcery on Dobu in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands reflect the Melanesian preoccupation with these concerns and the attention they have received in the literature.

In Melanesia it is impossible to make a clear distinction between magic and religion. Experts agree that spiritual beings are usually part of the ordinary physical world and are not transcendental. Ancestor worship is almost universal, and roughly the same sorts of spiritual beings are parts of the belief systems of many different peoples. Generally, there is no great concern with the creation or origin of the world or the universe.

In the past, warfare was also a constant feature of Melanesian life; it has remained so in the New Guinea Highlands. Virtually every community continually warred with at least some of its neighbors. Revenge was the most frequent cause. Each killing or

injury had to be repaid, and the process was literally endless. Head-hunting and cannibalism were common in many areas.

Melanesian creativity reached its zenith in its elaborate art forms, particularly in the lowlands. Painting, wood carving, and inlay work are lavish and are found in such ceremonial objects as masks, human and animal figures, drums, canoes, and innumerable other items. In some areas of New Guinea and the Solomons, almost every object, no matter how utilitarian, is decorated. In other areas, particularly the New Guinea Highlands, decoration is focused on the human body, taking the form of facial and body paint, elaborate headdresses, and costumes. In many respects Melanesian societies tend to represent the extremes. Indeed, anthropologist Ronald Berndt used the title *Excess and Restraint* for his study of four linguistic groups in the eastern New Guinea Highlands.

Era of European Discovery

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese had established themselves in the East Indies, maintaining trading posts at Malacca on the Malay Peninsula, the Moluccas (Spice Islands; present-day Maluku Islands in Indonesia), and a few other locations. They arrived at these distant outposts by voyaging around the Cape of Good Hope, up the east coast of Africa, and east across the Indian Ocean, bringing them to the edge of, but not into, the insular Pacific.

Seeking to challenge Portugal's hold on the East Indies, Spain sought alternate routes to the area as well as another potential prize. As far back as the sixth century B.C., it had been posited that the world was a globe and that there was a great landmass on the southern part that gave balance to the northern landforms. Armchair geographers had come to call the unseen southern continent Terra Australis Incognita. For Christopher Columbus and others centuries later, the two Americas represented barriers to a western route from Europe to the East Indies and the southern continent.

Like Columbus, Magellan was convinced that there was a route around the Americas, and, finding only skepticism at home, he eventually led an expedition from Spain. He sailed around the southern tip of South America and through the strait that now bears his name. He proceeded from southeast to northwest across the Pacific and reached Guam in 1521. Magellan pushed on farther westward and discovered the Philippines, where he was

killed in an encounter with the indigenous people. His voyage demonstrated the immense size of the Pacific, and his crew continued homeward to complete the first circumnavigation of the earth.

The Spanish failed to dislodge the Portuguese in the East Indies, but they eventually took possession of the Philippines in 1565. To link the Philippines to the motherland, a trans-Pacific route was established from Manila to Acapulco, Mexico, overland to the Caribbean, and on to Spain.

During the remainder of the sixteenth century, the Spanish and Portuguese were the dominant explorers in the region. Representatives of both countries sighted and claimed the large landmass of New Guinea. Sailing to the Peruvian port of Callao, the Spaniard Álvaro de Mendaña de Neira discovered the Solomon Islands in the late 1560s. Attempting to retrace his voyage, he sailed again from Callao in 1595. He discovered the Marquesas Islands—the first inhabited Polynesian islands seen by Europeans.

Mendaña did not live to see the end of his voyage, and his command passed to his chief pilot, Pedro Fernández de Quirós, who became obsessed with finding the southern continent. Setting sail in 1605, he traveled through the Tuamotus, which were of little interest to him, and went on to discover the New Hebrides Islands, which he wrongly identified as the sought-after continent. Quirós returned to Mexico, but his own chief pilot, Luis Váez de Torres, sailed from Manila after passing along the southern coast of New Guinea through what is now called the Torres Strait. His voyage demonstrated that New Guinea is an island and not part of the undiscovered continent.

By 1602 the Dutch had replaced the Portuguese in the East Indies, and during the seventeenth century they made the major explorations in the Pacific. The Dutch United East India Company monopolized trade in the Indies, and its investors tended to be conservative. Where the Spanish and Portuguese had been adventurers seeking gold, new lands, and souls for the glory of church and state, the Dutch were primarily pragmatic entrepreneurs searching for new trade routes and new markets.

In 1606 Dutch navigators discovered northern Australia while exploring the southern coast of New Guinea. Several exploratory voyages sponsored by the company in the 1620s and 1630s helped to map the northern and western coasts of Australia, which they called New Holland. They did not establish with certainty, however, that all the territory explored formed part of the long-sought-after southern continent. In 1642 Captain Abel Tasman sailed around the southern coast of Australia and encoun-

tered the island now known as Tasmania. Continuing around Australia, he discovered New Zealand, Tonga, and parts of Fiji early the next year. Tasman was the first European navigator to enter the Pacific from the west; he was also the first to make a complete circuit around Australia. After a second voyage in 1644, Tasman had contributed more knowledge about the Pacific than any other European up to his time.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Dutch concentrated on their business concerns, and although voyages to New Guinea and western Australia occurred, no vigorous exploratory effort was pursued. After Tasman's voyages, no major discoveries were made in the South Pacific until the voyage of another Dutchman, Admiral Jacob Roggeveen, about 80 years later. Roggeveen, who was not affiliated with the Dutch United East India Company, discovered exotic Easter Island, part of the Tuamotus, and the Samoa Islands in 1722. His efforts were not appreciated by the Dutch; instead, Roggeveen was accused of having trespassed on the company's monopoly. His discoveries rekindled interest in Pacific geography and exploration elsewhere.

Much of that interest, however, was carried on by armchair geographers in Europe. The reports and maps from previous expeditions were subjected to scrutiny and debate in academia. The Dutch had not freely shared the results of their explorations, and for others the uncertainty about Terra Australis Incognita remained.

Beginning in 1764 the tempo of actual exploration in the Pacific gained momentum, and within a relatively short time a series of voyages by four Englishmen and one Frenchman occurred. Douglas L. Oliver, a dean of Pacific anthropology, has described the period as one in which Oceania geography was transformed from a speculative into an exact science. Between 1764 and 1769 the three English captains John Byron, Samuel Wallis, and Philip Carteret made significant voyages of exploration. Wallis discovered Tahiti; Carteret sailed over much unexplored but vacant ocean, thereby eliminating many of the areas where the southern continent might possibly have been located.

In an effort to challenge the British and restore prestige that had been damaged by events in Europe, the Frenchman Louis Antoine de Bougainville was instructed to circumnavigate the globe. Bougainville followed Wallis to Tahiti. Thereafter, he proceeded to the Samoa Islands. His next landfalls were the islands of the New Hebrides, New Guinea, and the Solomons.

Although Bougainville's accomplishments were considerable, the eighteenth-century voyages of exploration in the Pacific

were dominated by the British, Captain James Cook proving to be the most formidable of them all. Cook made three voyages—the first in 1768–71 and the others in 1772–75 and 1776–79. Although all of Cook's accomplishments cannot be recounted here, he further explored the Society Islands during his first voyage and surveyed the coasts of New Zealand and most of the eastern coast of Australia. During the second voyage he came close to Antarctica, discovered Niue, New Caledonia, and Norfolk Island, and charted new islands in the Tuamotus, Cooks, and Marquesas. His third voyage took Cook along the American northwest coast and Alaska in search of the hoped-for northwest passage. Among other discoveries, Cook came upon the Hawaiian Islands; it was there that he met his death in 1779.

The era of major exploration and new discoveries essentially ended by 1780 after the voyages of Cook. One observer reportedly commented that "he left his successors with little to do but admire." Certainly the major archipelagoes had been located and mapped, and Cook's observations and charts later proved to be remarkably accurate.

The explorers not only made a significant impact on the people of the Pacific but their accounts also captured the imagination of Westerners. Both sides had learned that there were new and unfamiliar peoples in the world. Trade for food and water supplies had taken place, and islanders had come to appreciate the value of iron and other Western goods. Romantic myths about the south sea islands were launched in Europe and America, and philosophers took island peoples to be examples of humans in a pristine state of nature. After their long voyages sailors had found island women especially attractive; thus, the mixture of races had begun. Cook lamented that venereal disease was already evident by the time of his last voyage.

In the initial contacts with islanders, misunderstanding and violence occurred often. In fact, violence accompanied the beginning and the end of the era. During his call at Guam in 1521, Magellan was angered when some Chamorros made away with his vessel's skiff. He took 40 men ashore, burned 40 or 50 houses and several canoes, killed seven men, and recovered the skiff. A stolen vessel was also the immediate cause of Captain Cook's death at Kealekekua Bay in Hawaii in 1779. On this occasion a cutter was stolen, and when Cook went ashore to demand its return, he lost his life at the hands of the Hawaiians.

The Interlopers

From the 1790s until about the 1860s, the first interlopers who actually established residence in the Pacific appeared. Polynesia and Micronesia received the most attention. Melanesia was initially avoided because of the hostility of the inhabitants and the inhospitable environment. Further, the widespread absence of chiefs made it more difficult to deal with the Melanesians.

The outsiders may be divided into two categories: the sacred and the profane. Usually the latter arrived first. They have been variously labeled as beachcombers, sealers, whalers, and traders, and some individuals changed labels as they shifted from one enterprise to another. Engaged in the affairs of the sacred, the missionaries usually appeared after the beachcomber communities had been established. The two groups were often at loggerheads with each other.

Beachcombers, who first began to appear with the explorers, were men who had jumped ship or were the survivors of shipwrecks. They were later joined by escapees from British and French penal colonies in Australia, Norfolk Island, and New Caledonia and by men who were malcontents at home or simply adventurers fascinated by tales of the south seas. The beachcombers have commonly been described as being overly fond of alcohol and as having unsavory characters. They came from almost every nation in Europe and the Americas.

Although it is true that many were undesirables and that most did not make a great impact on history, the importance of some cannot be denied. The beachcombers were the first foreigners to establish residence in the islands and to learn the indigenous languages. Many married or formed long-term liaisons with island women and left numerous offspring. Some were attached to chiefly families and were used by chiefs to serve as advisers and/or intermediaries in relations with Europeans. Their service as interpreters gave them some control over communication. Missionaries new to the field abhorred dependence upon the beachcombers and were usually quick to learn the local language themselves. A few gained considerable prominence and influence and remained in the islands for the rest of their lives. Some adopted trading as a profession, while others, perhaps the majority, left or died without a trace.

A few left more than a trace and became well-known. For example, Isaac Davis and John Young were detained in Hawaii by King Kamehameha and became advisers who helped him solidify his rule over the archipelago. David Whippy was left by an en-

trepreneur in Fiji and became a major figure in Fijian politics at the time Fiji lost its sovereignty. William Mariner, a young Englishman, was detained in Tonga by a chiefly family for four years (1806–10); he was a keen observer and provided an excellent account of Tongan society and language. Herman Melville spent time in the Marquesas as a beachcomber, later incorporating his experiences in two novels, *Typee* and *Omoo*. James O'Connell, a colorful Irishman and somewhat of a rogue, left a valuable account of several years on Ponape in the late 1820s and early 1830s.

Beginning in the late 1790s, commercial ships began to carry sealers and fur traders between the northwest coast of America and China. Trade in salt pork was established between Tahiti, where it was produced, and Sydney. The sealers and fur traders visited the islands as they plied their vessels across the Pacific, trading primarily to obtain food and freshwater supplies. For them, as well as for the whalers who followed them, the islands were well liked as recreation spots.

Sandalwood, which had long been valued in China, caused considerable excitement when it was discovered in Polynesia and Melanesia. Although the sandalwood trade did not last long, it brought violence and bad relations almost everywhere. Generally, the sandalwooders had a very bad reputation; they often attempted to shortchange islanders, sometimes bullying them into participating in the trade. Chiefs, especially those in Hawaii, used the trade to enhance their own welfare at the expense of the commoners. It was a blessing that the trade ran its course in relatively short order. The three main areas first affected were Fiji (1804–16), Hawaii (1811–28), and the Marquesas (1813–17). Trade was first established in the 1820s in Melanesia—primarily among the New Hebrides, the Loyalty Islands, and New Caledonia—and lasted until about 1865. Other Pacific products also found markets in China, and traders promoted the collection of bêche-de-mer (or trepang—a sea cucumber used for soups), mother of pearl, and tortoiseshell.

More importantly, the Pacific was found to have rich whaling grounds. By the 1820s whalers were operating all over the region. The enterprise began with both British and American whalers, but it soon became dominated by New England interests out of Nantucket and New Bedford. The crews, however, were a mixed bag composed of not only New Englanders but also American Indians, runaway slaves, renegade British sailors, Europeans of several nationalities, and Pacific islanders, especially Hawaiians.

The whaling industry grew rapidly; many more than 700 American vessels worked the Pacific during the peak decade of

the 1850s. Through the 1860s and 1870s the industry declined as whaling grounds were depleted and as whale oil for lamps was replaced by kerosene.

Ports of call sprang up in response to the industry. Whalers put ashore to restore and resupply vessels for what came to be known as "refreshment." The latter referred to all kinds of activities: a relief from the rigors of sea, fresh foods, the excitement of new faces, the swilling of booze, and the securing of willing sexual partners. Liquor, guns, hardware, and textiles were traded for the commodities and services required by the seafarers. Hawaii, Tahiti, and the Marquesas were the first to feel the impact in Polynesia. Ponape and Kosrae became favorite spots in Micronesia. Eventually New Zealand was very much involved. Three ports were especially famous for their refreshments: Honolulu in Hawaii, Papeete in Tahiti, and Kororareka in New Zealand. Honolulu and Papeete survived and continued to thrive after the decline of whaling; Kororareka did not. Everywhere the whalers had a deleterious impact on indigenous peoples. The incidence of venereal disease as well as other diseases increased, violence was common, alcohol ravaged people unaccustomed to strong drink, and firearms heightened the seriousness of indigenous conflicts. Depopulation began to be a serious problem in many island groups, one that would continue throughout the twentieth century.

The copra trade also had a great impact on the islands; in fact, no other Western economic activity has touched the lives of so many Pacific islanders. By the mid-nineteenth century there was a large demand for tropical vegetable oils in Europe; thus, the oil of the meat of the coconut became of value.

Germans launched the copra trade. The firm of Johann Cesar Godeffroy and Son began with an oil-processing plant in Western Samoa in 1856. It soon changed to exporting copra, which was later processed in Europe. Godeffroy acquired large plantations in the Samoa Islands and by the 1870s had agents scattered across the Pacific from Tahiti to the Marianas.

Later, other plantations were established, and other large-scale companies became involved with copra and other commerce. However, the consequences were much more widespread. The coconut palm grows almost everywhere, even thriving on coral atolls, and copra production is simple, requiring little or no capital investment. In the most basic form of production, the white meat of a mature nut is cut from its shell and dried in the sun. Consequently, copra production is suited for even the

poorest and most remote spots in the Pacific. The boats of small traders as well as large trading firms can collect copra throughout an island chain, exchanging cash and goods in return. In spite of difficulties stemming from price fluctuations, copra has therefore been a natural product for the islands and has been a major income earner for the inhabitants. As increased numbers of coconut palms were planted, the copra trade altered the landscapes of entire islands, especially the atolls. A coral atoll whose islands are entirely covered with the palms is a post-copra-trade phenomenon.

It is an understatement to say that the last category of foreigners to be considered, the missionaries, also had an immeasurable impact on Pacific societies. The missions have been as successful, if not more so, in the Pacific as in any other place in the world. It all began with the Spanish and conversions to Catholicism. The Spanish sailing route between Mexico and the Philippines made Guam, the southernmost of the Marianas, a convenient port of call for reprovisioning and refreshment. In 1668 a Catholic mission and military garrison were established there. Initially, the effort seemed successful, and the priests adopted a strategy that was later to become commonplace. They first worked to bring the paramount chiefs into the fold; soon the more common folk followed.

In 1670 a few priests and catechists were killed after a misunderstanding with the Chamorros; the Spanish soldiers retaliated, and the Chamorro wars followed. The Spanish were nothing less than ruthless, and by 1694 Spain's conquest of the entire Marianas was complete. Of an estimated 100,000 Chamorros, the indigenous population was reduced to about 5,000. For administrative convenience and to provide a labor force close at hand, most of these were resettled on Guam. Spain had, in effect, established the first European colony in the Pacific. Within a short time Chamorro culture was essentially lost as the surviving Chamorros intermarried with their Spanish masters and Filipinos. The language survives, although in a much altered form.

The next round of missionization did not occur until over a century later, when the Protestants entered Polynesia. In 1797 the London Missionary Society landed its first contingent of missionaries in Tahiti. Like the earlier priests on Guam, these missionaries quickly developed the same sociological insight. If the chiefs could be converted, the process would quickly spread downward through the lower ranks of the stratified society. Within twenty years the Tahitian mission had enjoyed consider-

able success. By the 1830s the efforts of the London Missionary Society had spread westward, through the Society Islands to the Cook and Samoa islands.,

Other Protestant groups followed close on the heels of the London Missionary Society and, like the latter, for the most part came from Britain. The Church Missionary Society, organized in Britain, moved to New Zealand in 1814 to spread the gospel among the Maori. The British-based Wesleyan Missionary Society established a station in New Zealand in 1819; within a few years it was at work in Tonga, Fiji, and the Loyalty Islands, the latter representing intrusions into insular Melanesia. The Melanesian Mission was started in New Zealand; its initial work was with people in the Banks, Loyalty, and Solomon islands. By 1866 a mission school was established on Norfolk Island, and Melanesians were brought there for instruction.

The Americans entered the field when the Boston-based American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) landed its first missionaries in Hawaii in 1820. The ABCFM effort, also known as the Boston Mission, followed the pattern of working through the highest chiefs. Success was relatively quick. By mid-century ABCFM missionaries, including a few Hawaiian converts, extended their work to the eastern Carolines, the Marshalls, and eventually to the Gilberts.

The first serious effort launched by Catholics in the eastern Pacific came in 1827, when a band of priests arrived in Hawaii. In an act that characterized future relations between the two branches of Christianity, the Protestants expelled the unwanted competition. The Catholics retreated for a few years and then reentered Polynesia with an adroit move, landing priests in the remote Mangareva Islands southeast of Tahiti in 1834, where they were not watched and were unopposed. After gaining a command of the language, they established missions in Tahiti in 1836 and in the Marquesas in 1838. They were also the first missionaries to reach New Caledonia, in 1843. Fiji and the Samoa Islands saw their first Catholic missions in 1844.

By the 1850s and 1860s missionaries were at work in all the island groups. Melanesia, as usual, came last and was the most difficult to penetrate. The widespread absence of chiefs, the fragmented and small political units, and the great diversity of languages made it a true nightmare. Indeed, the American and European missionaries often did not take up the challenge; they sent a good number of their recent Polynesian converts in their stead.

The Protestants and Catholics could not have been more dif-

ferent. The Protestants wanted to bring not only their religion but also their own New England and British habits and work ethic. They insisted on clothing the women from head to toe and urged islanders to adopt Western-style houses. They attempted to suppress sexuality and railed against the evils of demon rum and tobacco. Their message contained more hellfire and brimstone than brotherly love and compassion.

The Protestants received much encouragement but not a great amount of financial support from home, and this helped form a particular style of missionization. An emphasis was placed on training indigenous pastors and making the new congregations become economically self-supporting. The missionaries themselves sometimes engaged in farming and trading. At times their own offspring became influential in island economies. The ultimate goal for the mission effort, however, was to train the indigenous pastors and church committees to take charge of the entire operation. For the most part, the strategy worked. The missionaries also got involved often in local politics and were very influential in shaping the monarchies that developed in Hawaii, Tahiti, and Tonga.

In contrast the Catholics were French, and the same motives that caused the French to send Bougainville on his voyage around the world were evident in the mission field. France was trying to regain its global prestige; its main rival was Britain. The French government had colonial ambitions in the Pacific and gave support to the Catholic effort. The Catholic missionaries promoted French language and culture as well as the dogma of their faith. No effort was made to create an indigenous church, and the French fathers remained very much in charge. They were also as much agents of French imperialism as of their faith.

The Protestants had agreed to divide the Pacific among themselves and respected one another's bailiwicks. The Catholics did not play by the same rules, for in areas where Protestants had become established, Catholics confronted them. Eventually, the two branches of Christianity overlapped almost everywhere, but in most island groups one side was dominant. Both evidenced a considerable amount of intolerance and bigotry, and each claimed to have the legitimate faith, portraying the other's message as an untruth at best. Religious wars were fought among island people in a few places. Even today the rifts between the two are often great. As recently as a few years ago, the people of one atoll in the Marshalls could not cooperate to form a local community council to govern their affairs because of the deep antagonisms between Protestants and Catholics.

On the positive side, missions provided education and, in some cases, modest medical care before colonial governments would concern themselves with such things. More important, the missionaries developed orthographies for many of the previously unwritten languages. In order to read the Scriptures, it was necessary to be literate, and the art of reading was taught with great vigor. Today most people of the Pacific are literate in either their vernacular or, in the case of Melanesia, the local pidgin.

By the mid-nineteenth century the initial stage of pioneering in the Pacific by outsiders was over, and circumstances were in place for two major developments during the latter half of the century. First, greater commercial development was to occur for the benefit of Europeans and Americans. Second, and related to the first, the process that had begun on Guam—the partitioning of the Pacific among the colonial powers—would be completed.

With regard to commercial development in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Douglas L. Oliver, in his now classic book, *The Pacific Islands*, has identified three kinds of people as having had the greatest importance: planters, blackbirders, and merchants. Although some planters had arrived earlier, a great many more arrived during the late 1800s, most from Australia and New Zealand. As Oliver has pointed out, the planter was a new kind of man; he did not come for refreshment or in search of souls. He came to stay and make a commitment to the development of a plantation, and he wanted land. Although other tropical plants were tried, the only ones of any real significance were copra, sugar, coffee, cacao, vanilla, fruit, cotton, and rubber. The last was mainly limited to New Guinea, and cotton only enjoyed a boom on Fiji during the American Civil War, when supplies from the American South to the rest of the world were cut off. Copra plantations have been the most numerous and widespread.

Planters needed cheap labor, but they did not find what they wanted among Polynesians and Micronesians. People from both areas worked extremely hard in short spurts when some culturally valued task was at hand, but they would not tolerate the monotonous routines of daily plantation chores. There were two solutions. For the sugar plantations of Hawaii and Fiji, laborers from outside the region were imported. In Hawaii, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos were brought in, and they stayed to become part of the archipelago's society. In Fiji, Indians were imported as indentured laborers; they too stayed and came to comprise about one-half the population. The sugar industry produced revolutionary changes in both island groups.

For plantations elsewhere in the islands and the sugar fields

of Queensland in Australia, Melanesians became the primary targets for blackbirding. In theory, blackbirding was a system of indentured labor whereby islanders obligated themselves for a few years of labor in exchange for being fed, paid a small wage, and returned home with a bonus of cash and goods or some variant thereof. In reality, islanders were often tricked or trapped into the arrangement, and their rewards were not always what they expected. Blackbirders delivered newly acquired "recruits" to their new masters and made handsome profits for themselves. Some of the laborers were treated reasonably well. Others were not, and some never saw their homes again. In the last analysis, blackbirding was a form of slavery. As the colonial powers divided the Pacific, they brought the seamy practice to an end.

Following the planters and blackbirders, several large mercantile firms emerged, including the German firm of Godeffroy, which collapsed and was succeeded for a while by other German firms. New Zealand and Australian interests became dominant, however, and several firms came to take up the major share of trade. They absorbed smaller trading operations, or smaller traders became their agents. Auckland and Sydney essentially became the financial capitals of the Pacific.

The Partitioning of the Pacific

Before the mid-nineteenth century, only two colonial powers had laid claim to territory in the insular Pacific. Guam and the rest of the Marianas were firmly under Spanish rule. Spain also claimed much of the remainder of Micronesia but had made no move to establish any real control. As a result of their involvement in the East Indies, the Dutch had been familiar with the western portion of New Guinea since the seventeenth century. In 1828 they laid formal claim to the western half of the island, but the Dutch did not establish a permanent administrative post until some 70 years later. Britain had founded its penal colony in Australia in 1788, and the continent was eventually divided into several separate colonies; unification came later.

Convicts who had served their time and free settlers from Australia and Britain soon spilled over into New Zealand. In 1840 Britain took possession of New Zealand, which in 1841 separated as a colony from Australia. Thereafter, Australia and New Zealand, particularly the former, strongly urged Britain to annex every island and reef in the Pacific. Britain's position was that it did not wish to commit itself to greater overseas expansion in the

Pacific. The Dutch did not have further ambitions outside of western New Guinea. The United States was still very much involved in whaling and the fur trade in the northern Pacific; it had no possessions in the Pacific and was not seeking territorial expansion in the area at the time.

France did have ambitions. A proposal to build the Panama Canal was being revived at the time, and it appeared that the Marquesas and Tahiti might become valuable as ports along a sailing route between the canal and Australia and New Zealand. France made its move in 1842 by declaring its sovereignty in the Marquesas and a protectorate over Tahiti. In the same year the smaller Wallis Island also came under French control. New Caledonia, a major prize, was next to come under the tricolor when France declared its sovereignty there in 1853; the French priests who had been working there unopposed were very much involved in the process. New Caledonia was used as a penal colony from 1865 to 1894, and nickel mining began in the 1870s. With Tahiti and New Caledonia in hand, France had established itself as a colonial power in the Pacific. Later, between 1881 and 1887, France annexed other islands in and around Tahiti to become dominant in eastern Polynesia and consolidate what is now French Polynesia.

After New Caledonia came under French rule, the next major territorial acquisition was made by Britain. In 1874 feuding chiefs ceded Fiji to the British, and the situation was essentially a salvage operation. On this occasion and later, the British acquired territories to satisfy Australia and New Zealand and to bring stability and law and order. In Fiji, British, American, and other planters had been pleading for protection; the warring chiefs could not bring about any stability, and blackbirding was rife. Britain was under pressure to provide a solution and did so with some reluctance.

Australia and New Zealand were pleased that Britain had finally taken action. The two had been disturbed by France's takeover of New Caledonia to their north. They were further concerned, if not alarmed, at Germany's entry into the Pacific. The German firm of Godeffroy had begun operations in the Samoa Islands in 1856 and had spread its agents out across the Pacific within a few years. Within the Samoa Islands the Americans, British, and Germans tried several schemes of governance, none of which succeeded. The United States was primarily interested in the excellent harbor at Pago Pago; the Germans were concerned with the protection of their economic investment and

plantations. The British had less at stake, and the Samoans were engaged in civil war among themselves. As in Fiji, some stability was needed, but the rivalry among the three major powers did not allow for an easy solution.

In the meantime, Germany continued to expand its commercial interests and made its first territorial acquisition when it annexed northeast New Guinea and the adjacent Bismarck Archipelago in 1884. Germany declared a protectorate over the Marshalls in the following year.

Germany's action in New Guinea caused great concern in Australia; the last thing the Australians wanted was another non-English-speaking and potentially hostile foreign power to their north; New Caledonia had been quite enough. The still reluctant British moved at last and claimed the southeastern portion of New Guinea, immediately north of Australia. In 1885 the British and the Germans agreed upon the boundary between the German northeast portion (German New Guinea) and the Australian southeast portion (British New Guinea, or Papua). In 1888 Britain assumed full sovereignty over Papua. In the same year, Germany added Nauru to its empire at the insistence of German traders, who had been on the island for about two decades.

In the next few years Britain began to exercise what in Australia's view was its proper role in the area. Its next acquisitions were not impressive, however; they were mostly atolls. British protectorates were declared over the Cook, Phoenix, Tokelau, and Gilbert and Ellice islands by 1892. The Australians and New Zealanders were pleased when Britain declared a protectorate over most of the Solomon Islands on their northern flanks in 1883. The New Hebrides remained the only group in Melanesia not claimed by an outsider power.

The years 1898 and 1899 witnessed the end of Spain's presence in the Pacific, the entry of the United States, further German expansion, and the resolution of the problem in the Samoa Islands. In 1898 the United States defeated Spain in the Spanish-American War and acquired the Philippines and Guam, the latter still valued as a coaling station. For a mere pittance Germany bought the rest of Spanish Micronesia.

With the aid of the United States Marines, the Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown by a group of businessmen of American birth or descent in 1893. Although there was some initial opposition, including that of President Grover Cleveland for a few years, Hawaii was annexed by the United States in 1898. The United States had acquired its second Pacific territory, which became the fiftieth state of the union in 1959.

Tiring of the situation in the Samoa Islands, Britain, Germany, and the United States arrived at a solution. In 1899 Britain renounced its claims, and the next year Germany and the United States divided the archipelago. Germany got the lion's share, which became Western Samoa. The United States acquired the smaller eastern portion with its coveted Pago Pago harbor, and American Samoa was born. Britain also got something out of the deal, for Germany renounced potential rights or claims to Tonga and Niue in favor of Britain and gave the British undisputed claim to all of the Solomon Islands east and southeast of Bougainville and Buka. That left the New Hebrides as the only remaining sizable island group that was not an official colony. Before that was to be changed, however, several minor items were to be taken care of. In 1900 Niue was claimed as a British protectorate, and in the following year Britain turned both it and the Cook Islands over to New Zealand for annexation. In 1900 Tonga and Britain signed a treaty in which Tonga essentially agreed to turn over its foreign affairs but in reality was extensively guided and influenced by the British.

Finally came the New Hebrides. After a couple of decades of rule by a joint British and French naval commission, Britain and France, fearful of further German ambitions, established a condominium government over the archipelago in 1906. The arrangement was always awkward and never satisfactory to anyone, but it closed the islands to others. Also in 1906, Australia, whose separate colonies had been joined in a federation only five years previously, assumed the administration of Papua. What had begun on Guam in 1668 was completed: the Pacific had been partitioned by eight colonial powers. One of the eight, Spain, had been forced out, leaving Australia, Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and the United States.

World War I and Aftermath

From the turn of the century until the outbreak of World War I, the region was a sleepy and peaceful backwater of the world. The white man was firmly in charge. Planters extended their holdings and increased the scope of their operations. Missionaries brought increased routinization to their established mission stations and continued to search out the pagan peoples. As islanders became more dependent on Western imports, they became more locked into the world economic order. Colonial governments increased the effectiveness of their rule, and in

Melanesia efforts were made to bring more of the interior and highlands people under administrative authority.

The viewpoint in the Pacific was that World War I was by and large a white man's folly fought on the other side of the world. The main consequences were the ouster of Germany from the region and the introduction of Japan as a colonial power. Germany's colonial era in the Pacific thus turned out to be brief, lasting about three decades.

When the war broke out, the Japanese navy occupied Germany's Micronesian possessions north of the equator. Germany's possessions south of the equator went to Britain or its two offshoots, Australia and New Zealand, and the Pacific became more of a "British lake" than ever before. Australia took German New Guinea, New Zealand acquired Western Samoa, and Britain, Australia, and New Zealand jointly claimed Nauru, although Australia exercised administrative responsibility. After the war all of the former German colonies were legally assigned to the new administering powers as Class C Mandates within the framework of the League of Nations. Essentially, the mandates were areas of the world judged to be not yet capable of self-government.

After the war the equator became a major dividing line, profoundly affecting events in the Pacific. In the northeast, remote Hawaii remained outside the mainstream of island affairs. Guam remained an isolated American bastion in western Micronesia. The bulk of Micronesia, however, was Japan's mandate, and Japan had a clear-cut colonial policy: establish Japanese settlers in the islands, develop the islands economically for the benefit of Japan, make the islanders conversant in the Japanese language and appreciative of Japanese culture, and restrict access to all but Japanese citizens. The policy was followed without fail, and Japan essentially integrated its mandate into its expanding empire. There was very little communication with the rest of the Pacific, and in the late 1930s Japan began to fortify the islands. By that time the estimated 50,000 Micronesians were outnumbered two to one by Japanese and their imported Okinawan and Korean laborers. The title of a book by journalist Willard Price, *Japan's Islands of Mystery*, reflected the rest of the world's view of Japanese Micronesia.

South of the equator, France had its three possessions: French Polynesia, tiny Wallis and Futuna (the latter was combined with Wallis for administrative purposes in 1909), and New Caledonia. It shared the New Hebrides condominium with Britain. The Dutch colony of West New Guinea and American Samoa were the other two exceptions to the "British lake" south of the

equator, and the colonies in the area moved more and more into the economic and political spheres of Australia and New Zealand. In the 1920s Britain shed one of its unwanted responsibilities, turning the Tokelaus over to New Zealand.

The interwar years were peaceful, and the Pacific returned to its sleepy backwater status in the world. The colonial order was firmly established and largely unquestioned. *Pacific Islands Monthly,* affectionately known to its readers as PIM, was founded in 1930 by R.W. Robson in Sydney. It became quite influential and helped to give the Pacific south of the equator a regional identity. By sharing news and views each month, people began to think of the larger Pacific as a whole and not just as the smaller regions with which they had special interests. Robson was an advocate of regionalism; he believed there should be cooperation and a sharing of information among the governments of the Pacific.

Some advancements in the welfare of the indigenous peoples were made during this period. Depopulation had largely ceased, most populations had stabilized, and some were making a recovery. Also, following a worldwide trend, there was an increased concern for the welfare of dependent peoples, which had some tangible consequences in the islands, especially in the area of health and medicine—a fact reflected in population trends. Education, however, was largely left to the missions. Douglas L. Oliver has suggested that, influenced by anthropologists, some colonial administrations became somewhat more enlightened, but this would appear to have been the exception rather than the rule.

World War II and Aftermath

December 7, 1941, marked the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the beginning of the war in the Pacific that forever changed the region. Micronesia and Melanesia felt the brunt of it. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, Japan invaded Nauru and the Gilberts in the east and Guam in the west, and for the first time in history, all of Micronesia was under one rule. New Guinea—especially the northeastern mandated area—experienced a massive Japanese invasion, which was repelled at great cost to all, including the indigenous peoples. The Japanese advance carried eastward into the Solomons, and Bougainville and Guadalcanal saw some of the heaviest fighting of the war (see World War II, ch. 5).

The war experience in New Caledonia and the New Hebrides was different, for there was no ground combat there.

Nouméa in New Caledonia became the headquarters of much of the United States effort in the southwest Pacific. Thousands of American troops were stationed there, and the United States military essentially ran the island and kept the mining operations going. The three major American bases in the New Hebrides were used as staging zones for operations elsewhere.

The American invasion of Micronesia began at Tarawa in the Gilberts in 1943. The Marshalls were next, and air attacks destroyed the Japanese naval fleet in the Truk lagoon in early 1944, although neither Truk nor any other islands in central Micronesia were invaded. Instead, they were bypassed when the United States went straight on to Guam and the Northern Marianas in June and July. It was from Tinian in the Northern Marianas that the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were launched in early August 1945.

Least affected by the war was Polynesia. Air, communication, and supply bases were established at one time or another on Tonga, Tahiti, the Samoa Islands, and the Cooks. Duty for service personnel in these areas was often slow, and outside the militarized islands the war had little effect other than causing shortages in imported goods and interruptions in shipping—conditions that were more or less universal in the wartime Pacific.

At the end of the war the economies of eastern New Guinea and Micronesia were in shambles. Local peoples had suffered greatly, and the physical infrastructures of both lay in ruins. In the Solomons only the localized areas affected by the war were similarly disrupted. The rest of Melanesia was in reasonably good shape; Polynesia had been the most fortunate.

It soon became apparent, however, that the war had made intangible changes in the society. Pacific islanders would never again view their colonial masters in the same light. During the early stages of the war, the Australians in New Guinea were forced to flee from the Japanese invaders, and it was quite evident to all that the help of the Americans had been required to bring about a victory. Some confidence in the white colonial rulers was lost. Further, Americans had interacted with islanders on a more egalitarian basis than the latter had ever experienced under colonial rule, and this raised questions about the older social order. It was significant—especially so in Melanesia—that islanders saw American blacks working alongside their white counterparts and in possession of the marvels of Western technology. The dependent status of darker skinned people was opened to reconsideration.

Also evident was a general postwar restlessness in which de-

pendent peoples were demanding more political rights and a larger share of the economic pie. The old mandate system was replaced by a trusteeship within the framework of the new United Nations (UN). Part of the responsibility of the administering powers was to lead dependencies toward increased self-government. Indeed, the trusteeships were viewed only as temporary political arrangements until this goal could be achieved. This trend was a continuation of the concerns for the welfare of indigenous peoples that had emerged during the years between the wars. Given such developments, it was unrealistic for the colonial administrators, planters, and traders to expect that the clock could be turned back.

At war's end the United States replaced Japan in much of Micronesia, and the area became the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI). The colonial powers had been reduced to six in number: Australia, Britain, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and the United States.

Regionalism and Independence

Reflecting the new ideological notions in the air, Australia and New Zealand invited the other four colonial powers—or, as they were coming to be known, metropolitan powers (much more polite than "colonial")—to join them in the formation of the South Pacific Commission (SPC) in 1947. The SPC was to encourage international cooperation in promoting the economic and social welfare of the dependent peoples of the Pacific. The United States made its former military headquarters in Nouméa available for the SPC's headquarters. The SPC was to engage in research and act as an advisory body to colonial administrations. Its functions were restricted to noncontroversial matters, such as economic development, social welfare, education, and health. The metropolitan powers did not wish others to intervene in their own colonial administration, and political and military issues were explicitly ruled beyond the pale of the SPC.

The SPC functioned as planned. Results of research in the noncontroversial areas were shared, and training programs in the areas of health, pest control, education, and other practical matters were developed. In 1950 the South Pacific Conference was held for the first time. The conference, an auxiliary body of the SPC, was composed of delegates from the Pacific islands and met every third year to advise the commission. The conference was to become extremely important in ways that had not been foreseen.

For the first time, representatives of countries from all over the Pacific met on a face-to-face basis. They found the experience very much to their liking, and there began to emerge a new regional identity—that of a "Pacific islander,"—as opposed to more local identities, such as Samoan, Maori, or Tongan.

Originally, only representatives of the six colonial powers actually belonged to the SPC and held ultimate authority. Over time, Pacific islanders at the conference insisted on having a greater voice in the decisionmaking processes and lobbied for an annual conference. Such requests became difficult to delay after 1962. Western Samoa had never really accepted the yoke of colonial rule. Movements of self-rule and expressions of extreme discontent had occurred during the New Zealand administration, and in 1962 Western Samoa became the first Pacific nation to achieve political independence. In the face of some resistance it joined the colonial powers, taking a seat in the SPC in 1965. By that date, however, one of the original colonial powers had been lost to the SPC. When Indonesia occupied West New Guinea in 1962, the Netherlands was no longer involved in the Pacific, and it ceased being an SPC member. After the Dutch departed, the number of colonial powers was reduced to five: Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, and the United States. Today former West New Guinea is known as Irian Jaya and is considered part of Indonesia.

Once begun, the momentum toward decolonization could not be stopped. Eight other island countries had joined Western Samoa as sovereign nations by mid-1984: Nauru (1968), Fiji (1970), Tonga (1970), Papua New Guinea (1975), Solomon Islands (1978), Tuvalu (1978), Kiribati (1979), and Vanuatu (1980). The name changes of the latter three occurred with independence. Five of the new states—Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa—were members of the United Nations.

The Cook Islands and Niue, both former dependencies of New Zealand have carved out a status known as "free association" that is novel to the world political arena. The Cook Islands were the first to achieve this status, in 1965. The Cooks had neither the resources nor the personnel to move immediately toward total independence, so it was agreed that they would be self-governing in internal affairs. New Zealand would handle defense and, insofar as requested, external affairs. The Cooks received financial support from New Zealand, and either side could unilaterally terminate the understanding. The formal agreement was intentionally left somewhat vague, and the free association relationship has

been allowed to evolve in its form and substance. Initially, New Zealand handled most of the external affairs of the Cooks. Subsequently, the Cooks began to represent itself in regional affairs, taking greater control of its international relations and negotiating several bilateral treaties with other countries. Niue followed suit in 1974, and to date it has been content to let New Zealand handle most of its external affairs.

As more countries achieved independence or self-government, reform of the SPC became increasingly necessary. Some change did occur during the late 1960s and 1970s. The conference became an annual affair and gained greater control over SPC programs. Eventually, the islander-dominated conference became the superior body, having ultimate decisionmaking authority, and the commission became its executive branch. The child had become the parent; the parent had become the child. At the 1983 conference in Saipan, all past voting inequities were erased; every member of the conference gained an equal vote.

The SPC, however, remained a troubled organization in the mid-1980s. It began as a metropolitan body and will probably never shed that image. The metropolitan powers contributed by far the bulk of the SPC's budget, and although they attempted to keep a low profile, it was felt that they used their financial contributions as leverage to gain undue influence. Moreover, the SPC remained an apolitical organization, as was reaffirmed in its 1983 publication, *The South Pacific Commission: History, Aims, and Activities*, which clearly stated that the SPC "does not concern itself with the politics of the states and territories within the region. . . ."

The SPC included all states, territories, and dependencies in the Pacific, which made for strange political bedfellows. The inability to engage in political debate was an irritant, for the self-governing countries wished to consider the incomplete process of the decolonization of the region as well as issues relating to the testing, storage, dumping, and deployment of nuclear weapons and the transit of nuclear-armed or nuclear-powered vessels.

Such frustrations were not new; they led to the founding of a separate regional organization, the South Pacific Forum, in 1971. The forum included the heads of governments of the newly independent and self-governing nations in addition to Australia and New Zealand. The latter two were recognized as being geographically a part of the region and integrally involved in its economies and politics. The forum met annually and exercised quite substantial influence in that it spoke for the governments that had shed their colonial masters.

In 1972 the forum established as its executive arm the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation (SPEC), headquartered in Fiji. That organization carried out the directives of the forum and as of the mid-1980s had promoted regional economic projects in areas of trade, investment, shipping, air services, telecommunications, marketing, and aid. SPEC has played a primary role in assisting in consultations between the forum and external organizations, such as the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the UN's Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), and the European Economic Community (EEC). The forum has expressed strong criticism of the slow pace of decolonization in French Oceania and the continued nuclear testing by France on Mururoa Atoll in French Polynesia. To date, the forum's major disagreements with the United States have been related to the American failure to ratify the international treaty drafted after years of negotiation by the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, proposals to store or dump nuclear wastes in the Pacific, and deployment of nuclear ships and weapons in the region. In response to proposals put forth on the Law of the Sea, the island states claimed jurisdiction over all resources within the 200-nautical-mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ—see Glossary) extending off their shores. The United States rejected the applicability of this claim over highly migratory species, such as tuna—a position the island states viewed as an attempt to invade their resources.

Some forum members were strongly of the opinion that the SPC was a vestige of colonialism. Forum members belong to both organizations, and some claimed that it was too expensive and time-consuming to maintain two major regional organizations. Since the late 1970s Papua New Guinea in particular has taken the stance that there should only be one major regional organization and that the forum and the SPC should be merged. The notion seems to be that the functions of the SPC should be absorbed by SPEC in ways that would reduce the influence of those countries geographically outside the region, i.e., Britain, France, and the United States.

The forum was very much a club of the states of the Commonwealth of Nations. In the decolonization process Australia, Britain, and New Zealand shed almost all of their Pacific dependencies. There were only two minor exceptions. Small Tokelau, which had fewer than 2,000 residents and only three atolls, desired to maintain its ties with New Zealand—a position it had made clear to the UN. The tiny and isolated Pitcairn Islands, populated by about 45 people descended from the mutineers of

the H.M.S. *Bounty*, remained a British colony.

In this context, France and the United States were in somewhat of a delicate position; they were viewed in the region as the last representatives of the old colonialism in the Pacific. As of mid-1984 France continued to hold French Polynesia, Wallis and Futuna, and New Caledonia. These had the status of overseas territories, were considered an integral part of France, and had elected representation in the French government. France has been the target of considerable criticism because it has insisted on maintaining its presence in the Pacific, and the French feel strongly that their language and culture should be perpetuated in the islands. Events during 1983 and 1984 suggested, however, that France might be softening its position and that greater autonomy and perhaps even independence might be a possibility for New Caledonia. Any such development would surely have repercussions in French Polynesia, where pro-independence groups have been strong in the past.

American Samoa and Guam remained United States territories; there was little likelihood of any significant change in their political status. The United States continued to be the administering authority of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI). Negotiations on the TTPI's future political status began in the late 1960s and lasted a long time. Initially, it was assumed that the TTPI would remain unified while its new status was negotiated. Instead, for a variety of complex reasons, fragmentation occurred, and four political units emerged: the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Republic of Palau, and the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), the last including the former TTPI administrative districts of Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae.

In 1975 the Northern Marianas voted for commonwealth status, which would make it a part of the United States; the United States Congress approved the action the next year. Legally, however, the Northern Marianas would remain part of the TTPI until the trusteeship was dissolved. After 1976, however, both sides operated under a convenient fiction, acting as if the Northern Marianas had already achieved commonwealth status; it elected its own governor and legislature.

For a time it appeared that the FSM, Marshalls, and Palau were headed toward free association arrangements initially based on the model of the Cooks and Niue. As negotiations proceeded, however, significant differences from that model developed. The Compacts of Free Association in Micronesia are lengthy and very complex legal documents. They deny strategic access to any pow-

ers other than the United States, which reserves the right to intervene in island affairs if and when it determines that such action is vital to its own national defense. The financial subsidies being offered the three countries are in the magnitude of multiples of millions annually, and they are the envy of others. In essence, it can be said that the three are granting the United States a number of rights and prerogatives that limit their own autonomy in exchange for large financial subsidies. It was clear that the United States would maintain a considerable presence and substantial influence in these island groups.

In 1979 the FSM and the Marshalls formed their own constitutional governments. Palau followed in 1981. Each polity elected a president and legislature. Plebiscites in the FSM and Marshalls approved the Compacts, and the agreements were sent to the United States Congress with the support of the administration of Ronald Reagan in mid-1984. Free association was not approved in Palau because of incompatibilities between the Palauan Constitution and the terms of the Compact in regard to nuclear concerns. Negotiations were continuing in mid-1984.

The Future

The decolonization of the Pacific, although not complete, has been peaceful and has proceeded relatively smoothly. The strains within the two major regional organizations will probably result in some reorganization or realignment in the next few years, but the process will not be rushed. Part of the new Pacific identity involves what islanders refer to as the "Pacific Way." It is said that Pacific islanders share a common heritage and have their own style, one that differs from that of the West. The people do not rush, human relations are conducted peacefully, and decisions are made through discussion and consensus. Confrontation is avoided, and social values take precedence over materialistic values.

Pacific islanders contend that they have always lived and behaved in such a manner. Considering the warfare and feuding of the past, this contention is not historically accurate, and certain elements of the Pacific Way are a myth—but a good myth that stresses that the conduct of human relations should be carried out in ways that show care and concern for the welfare of all. Perhaps the notion of the Pacific Way will assist insular peoples and their governments in approaching the problems of the future in cooperative and constructive ways.

It would seem that the greatest set of problems in the near future will be those stemming from rapidly increasing populations. Since the stabilization of populations and the end of depopulation during the period between the two wars, there has been a turnaround, and improved health and medical care since World War II has contributed to great growth rates of Pacific populations. Perhaps the most extreme example was in the TTPI, where the population almost tripled from about 50,000 during World War II to 140,000 in mid-1984. The population of French Polynesia has increased from 98,400 to 159,000 in mid-1984. Tonga has seen an increase from 77,500 to 104,000 in the same period. Fiji experienced an increase from roughly 500,000 to 680,000 in mid-1984.

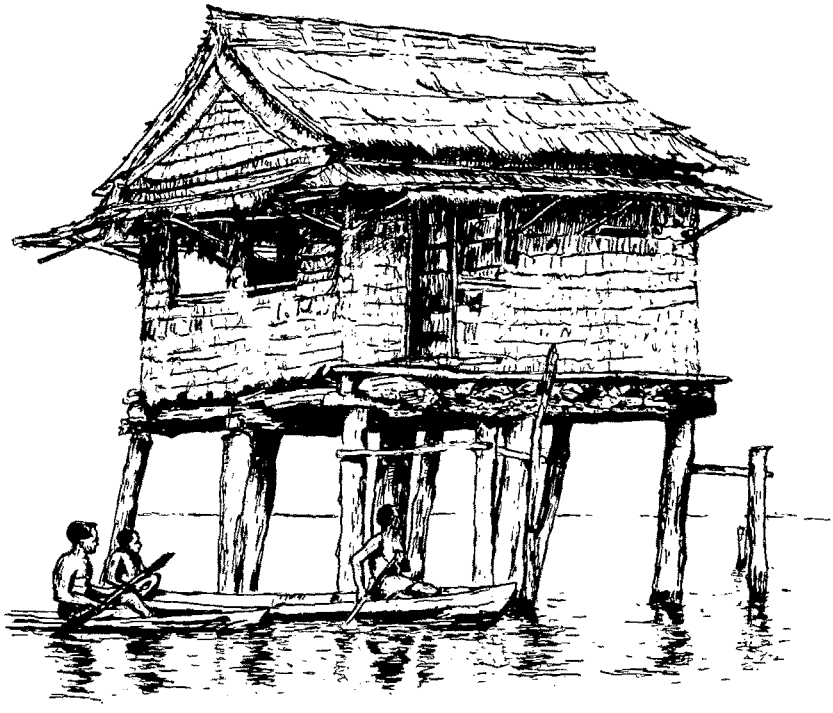
The Pacific islands have only a limited capacity to accommodate increased populations, and the present rates of increase will soon strain island economies and ecosystems. To date, however, family planning and birth control programs have not proved popular anywhere. Urbanization has also occurred at a rapid pace. In part, the increased tempo of urban growth is the result of increased population sizes, but, as everywhere in the world, the urban centers draw from the rural areas those people who are in search of employment, education, health and medical care, and the diversions available there. Urban centers are placing an increased burden on local ecosystems; thus, facilities necessary for the support of urban life are often strained. The capitals of atoll nations are the most difficult of all to sustain, for the limited environment of the atoll is in no way suited for high-density and large populations. Local governments and SPC programs have attempted to make rural life more attractive, but to date the population movement continues from the countryside to the city.

With the exceptions of Papua New Guinea, nickel-rich New Caledonia, and perhaps Fiji, island economies are limited and fragile. Cash crops are few and, in the atolls, limited to copra. The islands are vulnerable to typhoons, drought, and plant infestations. A single disaster can bring damage requiring years of recovery. Indigenous commercial fishing operations are few and underdeveloped, but island governments have great hopes for the future exploitation of the ocean. With two or three exceptions, countries are heavily dependent upon economic aid from abroad, in most cases from the former colonial power. In this respect many of the old ties and linkages remain.

The challenges of the future are great, and the political stability of governments will in large part depend upon how successful they are in developing strategies to cope with the very real problems at hand. There is no doubt that external assistance will

continue to be required. This very fact creates yet another problem for the island states in maintaining true sovereignty over their affairs while also depending on foreign donors.

Chapter 2. Melanesia

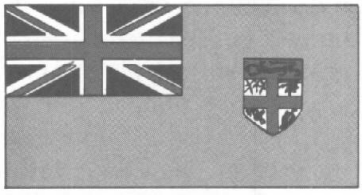


Stilt house for male adolescents and bachelors on Malaita in the Solomon Islands

AS DIVERSE INTERNALLY as they are different from each other, the islands of Melanesia—those in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, and Fiji—defy convenient generalizations. Their traditional societies were fragmented into over 900 small linguistic groups that had their own forms of social and political organizations, little contact with each other, and no ambitions to develop national organizations. Only after the coming of the Europeans did these small social groups begin to merge into larger identities. This process was most rapid in Fiji, where traditional groups were more homogeneous than those in the other islands. History presented both Fiji and New Caledonia with a new source of social division; immigrant Indians in the former and French settlers in the latter soon became numerically, as well as politically and economically, important. Elsewhere, the foreigneres remained tiny minorities, in contrast to the indigenous Melanesians.

The physical differences between the islands are obvious; Papua New Guinea dwarfs the rest, having six times the population and 25 times the land area of Fiji, the next largest area in Melanesia. And yet all of the Melanesian territories are large by Pacific standards, a fact that contributes to their importance in regional and international forums. Their economies also differ in scale. In the early 1980s the per capita gross domestic product of New Caledonia was 14 times that of the poorest country, Vanuatu, some 12 times that of Solomon Islands, about nine times that of Papua New Guinea, and four times that of Fiji. The predominantly agrarian Melanesian sectors of each of these economies, however, resemble each other, and many Melanesian households live in ways fundamentally unchanged from those of their ancestors. Politically, New Caledonia is the exception; although the other Melanesian states have achieved independence, it remained a French territory in mid-1984. The other Melanesian states gave rhetorical support to the movement of its indigenous inhabitants to become the last Melanesians to obtain nationhood.

FIJI



Flag: British flag and Fiji shield—encompassing British lion, cross of St. George, sugarcane, coconut palm, dove of peace, and bananas—on blue field

Political Status	Independent state (1970)
Population	680,000 (1984 midyear estimate)
Land Area	18,333 square kilometers
Currency	Fiji dollar (F$)
Major Islands and Island Groups	Viti, Levu, Vanua Levu, Taveuni, Kadavu, Lomaiviti Group, Yasawa Group, Lau Group, Rotuma

Physical Environment

Fiji, a multiethnic society of native Melanesians—called Fijians—and immigrant Indians, encompasses some 332 islands and islets, about one-third of which are inhabited. The largest island Viti Levu, accounts for 57 percent of the land area and for over three-quarters of the population; Vanua Levu has another 30 percent of the land and 18 percent of the people. The distance from the northernmost to the southernmost islands is around 1,200 kilometers; that from the western to the eastern extremities is about 650 kilometers.

Vitu Levu has four basic kinds of terrain: plateau, mountain, upland, and coastal. In the center of the island the Nadrau Plateau rises some 900 to 1,000 meters above sea level, covering about 130 square kilometers of dense and marshy forest. Two mountain ranges running north and south of the plateau form the major divide, and the northern range contains Mount Victoria, at 1,424 meters the highest point in Fiji. Other mountain ranges above 600 meters separate the island into four upland areas that are heavily dissected by rivers. The undulating coastal hills and lowland plains contain most of the population. Numerous meandering rivers—of whhich the longest is the Rewa River—and many coastal streams create a complex drainage system and offer excellent hydroelectric potential. Reef systems intersecting with those of nearby islands form barriers around most of the island, sheltering large expanses of coastal waters and making good anchorages, especially at Suva.

Vanua Levu, having several jutting peninsulas, is less regularly shaped than its larger neighbor to the south. The main mountain range forms one plateau and two tablelands that have many peaks over 900 meters. The plains are generally lower, less

undulating, and drier than those of Viti Levu, and the rivers are smaller but about as numerous.

Two other large islands, Kadavu and Taveuni, are each about the same size at just over 400 square kilometers. Like the main islands and most of the far-flung island groups, they are of volcanic origin. Most of the Lau Group, however, consists of raised limestone structures scattered across some 114,000 square kilometers of ocean and shares more characteristics with Tonga than with Fiji.

The tropical climate is controlled by southeast tradewinds, which blow from February to November. December and January have lighter, shifting winds, but storms and hurricanes also batter the islands. The temperature varies little during the year, from about 23°C to 27°C, dropping some 5°C at night and in the higher altitudes. The hottest months are from December through April, when the humidity is highest. The eastern and southeastern portions of the large islands—the windward sides—receive 2,800 to 3,500 millimeters of rainfall per year; the drier, leeward sides average about 1,800 to 2,000 millimeters.

The vegetation in Fiji is similar to that found elsewhere in Melanesia. Herbaceous plants, shrubs, grasses, and mangrove swamps along the coasts give way to trees, shrubs, and agricultural crops farther inland and on the lower slopes. The most striking contrast is between the windward and leeward sides—the former are mostly covered with tropical evergreens and other lush forest and the latter with low-lying trees and grasses. The rain forests contain some good commercial species but are not as dense as those in Southeast Asia. The limestone islands usually have tropical palms rather than montane species. About one-third of the 3,000 species of plants are indigenous, some of which are rare and beautiful.

Most of the animal life is not native, including pigs, rats, and dogs, which were introduced early in the country's history. Several species of bat, a flying squirrel, a few snakes (none of them poisonous), some lizards, and a chameleon are native, as are many of the nearly 70 species of birds. Some native ground-nesting species, however, have been killed off by the mongooses that were imported to control the rat population. Insects are abundant but do not include the malarial mosquito.

For census and administrative purposes, Fiji is divided into 15 provinces, which in turn are grouped into four divisions (see fig. 3). Rotuma Province is subsumed in Eastern Division. According to the latest decennial census, taken in 1976, some 37 percent of the population lived in urban areas—about 20 percent

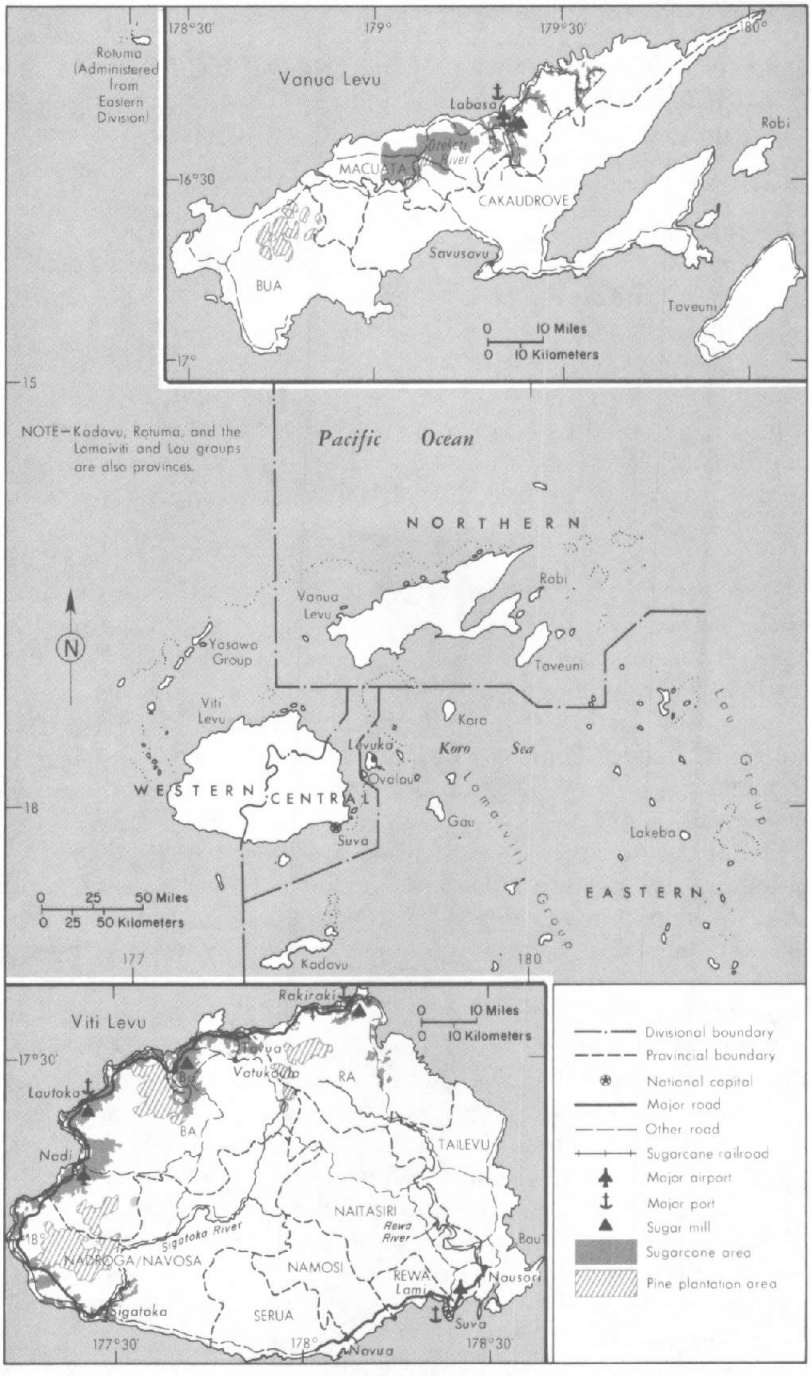


Figure 3. Fiji, 1984

towns of Labasa, Nadi, and Nausori. The rural population was concentrated in the sugar-growing areas of Ba, Macuata, and Nadroga/Navosa provinces, where the Indian ethnic group was in the majority.

Historical Setting

The Melanesian settlers who first peopled the islands probably arrived during the second millennium B.C.; pottery shards found near Sigatoka on Viti Levu have been dated to 1290 B.C. Divergent dialects and styles of pottery suggest that related groups from New Caledonia or the New Hebrides (present-day Vanuatu) joined the earlier settlers some time before the twelfth century A.D. The oral tradition and the ruins of fortifications suggest that much of the interaction among these early communities was hostile.

The importance of warfare and cannibalism in early Fijian history, however, should not detract from the accomplishments of the early culture. The subsistence economy produced enough agricultural surplus to afford some regional specialization and trade in fine handicrafts as well as necessities. The double-hulled canoes of Fiji facilitated interisland commerce and were prized by the neighboring Tongans. Large festivals of exchange *(solevu)* took place on special occasions and brought together hundreds of traders at a time.

Political and social organization was hierarchical, headed by chieftains who contended among themselves for power and status. The dominant chiefs were the war chiefs of various confederations *(vanua)* of clan groups and communities. Almost always male, the chiefs ruled in the name of the ancestral guardians of their people, although they were usually assisted by priestly counterparts. The office of chief, which became hereditary through the male line, was highly ritualized. Although characterized by cannibalistic ritual, warfare nonetheless brought about the integration of dissimilar cultural and linguistic groups into larger political entities. The decisive unification of Fiji, however, did not occur until the nineteenth century, primarily as the result of the growing influence of the Europeans, who came to the islands in the seventeenth century.

European Influence and the Cession to Britain

The early explorers who discovered Fiji for Europe were the least influential of the newcomers and did not put ashore for long.

The first was Dutch explorer Abel Tasman, who spotted the islands in 1643; the most famous was probably William Bligh, alleged tyrant of the H.M.S. *Bounty*, who passed through in his open longboat in 1789 and returned three years later in a large vessel. In the early nineteenth century, however, a few traders became more influential. They came from Australia, North America, and British India to barter first for sandalwood and then for bêche-de-mer, a sea cucumber used in Chinese cooking. Regardless of their place of origin, the white traders and settlers were identified as European by the Fijians. Periodic violence between the traders and the Fijians marred these earliest contacts.

Some of the Europeans jumped ship and stayed in Fiji to seek a lifelong adventure. They soon married Fijian women and established a mixed-blood community at Levuka, on the island of Ovalau, off Viti Levu. These so-called beachcombers were the go-betweens for the traders, who needed their linguistic and managerial talents to contract and bargain with the Fijians. Commodore Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition, which made the first systematic survey of the islands in 1840, was able to get one of the beachcombers appointed the first American consular representative to Fiji.

Although the indigenous culture at first proved strongly resistant to their efforts, Christian missionaries had an important and revolutionary effect on Fiji. The first missionaries were native Tahitians trained by the London Missionary Society; they arived in 1830 from Tonga. In 1835 evangelists David Cross and William Cargill also arrived from Tonga, sent by the Methodist church. One of their lasting contributions was the development of a writing system for the native dialects. Fijians flocked to Christianity, however, only after the conversion of their most powerful chieftains.

In the early nineteenth century the islet of Bau had become the center of power for the western part of Fiji, and by 1850 the second of two strong leaders, Cakobau, emerged as preeminent chief. He was even addressed by the Europeans as King of Fiji. In 1851, however, a revolt against his authority spread quickly from along the Rewa River, and after several defeats Cakobau decided that a conversion to Christianity might be expedient. His new spiritual status enabled him to secure the support of an American vessel and a battlefield alliance with a Christian king from Tonga. Cakobau's victory in 1855, however, encompassed only western Fiji; he anxiously watched the growing influence of another Christian prince from Tonga, Ma'afu, in the Lau Group. The conversion of these chiefs ensured the success of the missionary effort

in Fiji, one consequence of which was the cessation of cannibalistic rituals.

The political involvement of the European powers started in earnest after the arrival of William T. Pritchard (son of George Pritchard, missionary and British consul in French Polynesia), the first British consul, in 1858. He took office amid British fears that France or the United States might annex Fiji. He was able to convince Cakobau, who feared both Ma'afu and a pressing American claim against him in a case involving property damages, to cede the islands to Britain. In return, Britain would sustain and protect Cakobau and his people. Although the offer was refused by Britain and Pritchard was recalled, the move attracted settlers from Australia and New Zealand, who came to farm cotton—then at a premium price because of the Civil War in the United States. By 1870 some 2,000 European settlers were in Fiji; they brought 1,000 people from other Pacific islands to work in the new fields.

At first the political situation seemed to stabilize: Ma'afu, who had received some European support in setting up a government over the Lau Group, Taveuni, and much of Vanua Levu, reluctantly agreed to swear allegiance to Cakobau in 1871. Controversies over the level of taxation, the collapse of the international market for cotton, and the harsh treatment of plantation laborers, however, soon caused a fiscal crisis and even violence. In 1872 the new British consul, John Bates Thurston, reported the confusion to Britain and appealed for the annexation of the islands. A commission of inquiry was dispatched in March 1874, and on its advice Britain prepared to annex the country. On October 10 Cakobau, Ma'afu, and 11 other Fijian chiefs signed the formal Deed of Cession, and Fiji became a British colonial possession. The colony began on a most inauspicious note—in early 1875 a measles epidemic wiped out at least one-fifth of the Fijian population.

Colonial Development and Independence

The main currents of the colonial era, which lasted until 1970, were the rapid immigration of indentured Indian laborers to build a plantation economy based on sugarcane, the maintenance of special land and political rights for the Fijians, and the gradual opening of the unrepresentative colonial administration to participation by the various ethnic groups. Political independence from Britain came to hinge on the development of a formula for sharing political power among these ethnic communities.

The priority of the first governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, was above all to restore the confidence of the Fijians after the tragic epidemic; only secondarily did he see to the concerns of the European settlers, many of whom were bankrupt. The Europeans received no elected representation for 30 years while the colonial administration attempted to transform the traditional administrative structure to suit its rule. Government revenue was collected in kind from the Fijian chiefs, who acted as representatives of the government. The ready assistance of the chiefs in putting down a rebellion in the interior of Viti Levu in 1876—the last organized violence of major consequence—verified the wisdom of Gordon and his adviser, Thurston, who eventually became governor himself.

The government was averse to having Fijians work on European plantations and strictly regulated blackbirding, the virtual kidnapping of people from some areas of the Pacific to work on plantations. Instead, to promote its idea of an economy based on sugarcane, the government sanctioned the indenture of laborers from the Indian subcontient, who began arriving in 1879. Nine years later there were 6,000 Indians residing in Fiji; by 1916, when the official immigration ended, there were more than 50,000. At the time of the first census, in 1936, there were 85,000 Indians, of whom 72 percent had been born in the colony. Fewer than half of the immigrants ever returned to India, although their status and lot were extremely low, often verging on slavery.

Revenue from the sugar industry, which became the near monopoly of one Australian processing company, the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, enabled the government to expand its construction program, particularly in the new capital and port of Suva. While exports suffered long periods of low prices, substantial booms and steady growth in the other periods ensured prosperity at least for the European community. The Fijians participated only marginally in this economic activity, selling little more than coconuts or bananas to supplement their subsistence farming.

The political development of the colony took a decisive turn in 1904, when six elected Europeans and two Fijians nominated from the Council of Chiefs were admitted into the Legislative Council, an advisory body to the governor. In 1916 the governor appointed one Indian member, and in 1929 the first Indian representatives were elected. The governor ignored a campaign on the part of some Indians to establish an electoral system based on the principal of "one man, one vote," in which everyone would choose from the same slate of candidates, regardless of ethnic affiliation.

The preserved system gave each community five representatives: the Europeans and the Indians each had three elected and two appointed representatives; the Fijians nominated five individuals for appointment. Throughout this period, however, the governors and their administrators held final authority over all policy. Indeed, historian Timothy Macnaught has shown that after Thurston's death in 1897 most British administrators—in their well-intentioned zeal to "modernize" the society—became high-handed in their dealings with the Fijian chiefs.

Behind this political evolution lay economic and social tensions that revolved primarily around the question of land. Except for the 1905–09 period, when 8,000 hectares of property were sold to the Europeans, land sales were prohibited. The government upheld reluctantly and after great delay the claims of some early settlers to about 162,000 hectares of land. After 1920, when the system of indenture was terminated, the Indians became tenant farmers on lands owned primarily by the Fijian communities, who held all unalienated land. None of the groups seemed content with this situation, but when the Council of Chiefs approved the leasing of all lands not required for their immediate needs in 1936, tensions eased. Thereafter, a complicated system of ownership and tenure developed. Essentially, the Indians worked the commercial agricultural lands, the Fijians received rents, and the Europeans supplied the capital to process and trade the sugarcane produced.

The system was supported by conservative Fijians, such as Ratu Josef Lalabalavu Vaanialialia Sukuna, an Oxford-educated descendant of the great chiefs and an equally great legislator and politician. The only populist movement, which attempted ineptly to replace the European middlemen with a Fijian company, was led by Apolosi R. Nawai, whom the government considered to be a fanatic and a threat and who spent most of his life after 1909 in prison.

After World War II, in which a number of Fijians distinguished themselves in service on behalf of the Allied forces, the pace of political reform quickened—especially in the 1960s, when indirect and colonial forms of administration seemed out of place. In 1963 the legislative council was enlarged yet again, and women of all ethnic groups participated in elections for the first time. Two political parties were born: the Alliance Party, a multiracial but predominantly Fijian organization headed by Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, and the Federation Party, also multiethnic in appeal but dominated by the Indian community. In 1964 the Executive Council became a cabinet in all but name, and one year later a

constitutional conference in London further enlarged the Legislative Council and adopted procedures to elect some members from a common voting roll. The number of representatives from each ethnic group, however, remained fixed.

The intense fighting between the two major political parties over the issue of voting procedures gradually cooled. In April 1970 another constitutional conference was held in London. The conference endorsed the complex procedures in use as the best means of selecting a proposed House of Representatives. After drafting the Constitution and approving its implementation without further election, the conference agreed that Fiji would become independent on October 10, 1970. In January 1973, a year after the first parliamentary elections held under the Constitution returned the Alliance Party to power, Ratu Sir George Cakobau, great-grandson of the chief who had sworn allegiance to Queen Victoria, replaced the colonial holdover as governor general.

The Social System

Ethnicity continued to be the primary basis for social identification in 1984. In general, racial and linguistic factors determined ethnic affiliations, but other cultural affinities, such as religion and social organization, were also associated with one or another ethnolinguistic group. Economic development and the expansion of public administration and education have cut across some of these ethnic boundaries, producing similar social and economic classes within ethnic groups. Nevertheless, relations between the ethnic communities were the main focus of public attention.

Ethnolinguistic Groups

The term *Fijian* may only refer to a member of the Fijian ethnic community and not to other inhabitants of the country. The ethnic composition of the population, according to official estimates for mid-1981, was Fijians, 44.5 percent; Indians, 50.7 percent; Part Europeans, 1.7 percent; Rotumans, 1.2 percent; other Pacific islanders, 0.9 percent; Chinese, 0.7 percent; Europeans, 0.6 percent; and others, 0.1 percent.

The indigenous Fijians are basically Melanesians but have an admixture of Polynesian physical and cultural characteristics. Their traditional systems of social organization—hierarchical, patrilineal, and elaborately ceremonial—are akin to those of Polynesia and are much more homogeneous from area to area

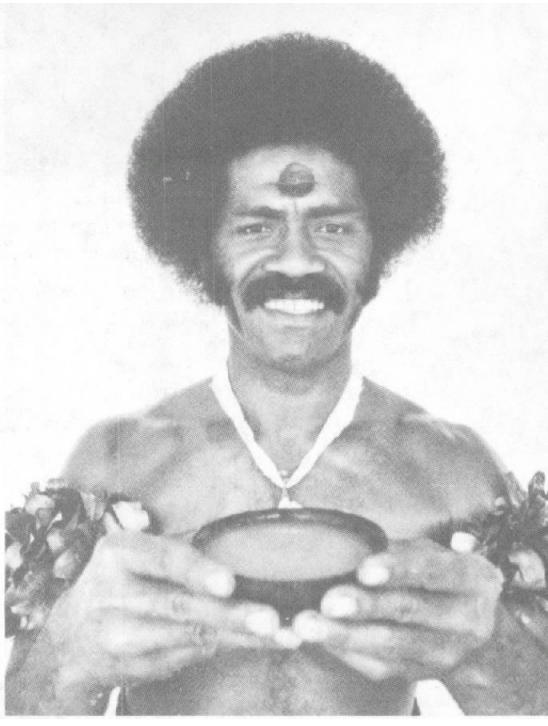
than are those elsewhere in Melanesia. Although there are many local variants, which may be grouped into eastern and western Fijian dialect groups, the eastern dialect of Bau—into which the Bible was translated in the nineteenth century—has been deemed the official language of Fijians. Most of the chiefly families have traced their origins to the arrival ages ago of a Polynesian chieftain who landed on northwestern Viti Levu and established the first *yasuva*, sometimes translated as tribe. In the late 1970s there were some 600 *yasuva* on Viti Levu alone. Like the language dialects, the Fijian ethnic group can be divided into eastern and western factions; the easterners, dominated by the chiefs of Bau and the Lau Group, have had the most influence in government.

The *yasuva* was formed of subsidiary groups. At the bottom were extended families, which were further grouped into patrilineal subclan and clan groups. The latter, called *mataqali*, became the official landowning units in the colonial era and remained so in the 1980s, when some 6,600 *mataqali* were registered. Before the 1970s an individual's relationship to the *mataqali* was often unclear and even tenuous, but as land has become scarcer, the *mataqali* seemed to be asserting greater influence over individuals.

Fijian culture is full of ceremony, and the most popular has been the ceremonial drinking of kava, a nonalcoholic beverage extracted from a pepper plant. Although it was sold commercially for refreshment, it was used in all proper rituals for birth, marriage, death, the installment of a chief, and so forth. The practice of *solevu*, especially the exchange of precious whales teeth, has also persisted. Despite discouragement from the government since colonial times, Fijians often were obligated to share their wealth with kinfolk on demand, with the understanding that they could receive a returned favor in the future.

Although Fijians have achieved positions of power and influence in the government and public administration, many, especially in the hinterlands and the outlying islands, remained subsistence farmers, growing taro and yams as staples. More and more, however, these households have turned to the commercial economy. In 1976 over 38 percent of the technical, professional, and managerial work force was Fijian. Fijians made up 59 percent of all service workers, about 57 percent of agriculturists, some 35 percent of industrial workers, about 33 percent of clerical staff, and 19 percent of sales personnel.

Almost all of the Indians living in Fiji in 1984 had been born and raised there and were citizens. Many of the distinctions



Fijian man offering a half-coconut shell full of kava, the national drink Courtesy Fiji Visitors Bureau

within the community that had been important in India had withered away or changed. As late as 1980, however, one anthropologist identified four important subgroups related to the region of origin in India—Northerners, Southerners, Punjabis, and Gujaratis—and two that depended on religious affiliation—Hindus and Muslims. The Punjabi group included the Sikhs, and together with the Gujaratis these people had immigrated freely into Fiji outside of the indenture system. Within the Hindu community, stringent codes of behavior for members of castes have disappeared along with the organizations to supervise them. Most Hindus, however, were aware of their caste and tended to marry within it. Caste affiliation also contributed somewhat to social status, which was generally determined by educational, professional, and economic achievement. Regardless of the subgroup, most Indians—especially in the rural areas—have maintained the ideal of a patrilineal extended family system and have interacted most commonly with such kin.

On the basis of language use, it seemed that the community has become more homogeneous. Whereas one-quarter of the Indians who immigrated to Fiji were from the southern areas of India and spoke the Dravidian languages of Tamil and Telegu, the 1966 census showed that only 4 percent of all Indians still used these languages in the home. Hindustani or Hindi has replaced

the numerous dialects and was spoken in 90 percent of all Indian households in 1966. The same census showed that 3 percent of the households spoke Gujarati, 1.5 percent Urdu, and the rest other languages. According to one survey, however, nearly 62 percent of the Muslims preferred their children to learn Urdu as a second language to English.

As in colonial times, the Indian population has continued to dominate the sugarcane industry. In addition, they worked small farms cultivating rice and vegetables and raising livestock. According to the 1976 census, about 37 percent of the Indian community was employed in farming, forestry, and fishing, representing some 40 percent of all workers in this sector. The Indians represented 43 percent of all professional and technical workers, some 49 percent of all managers and administrators, about 53 percent of all clerical workers, some 58 percent of industrial and transportation workers, and over two-thirds of sales personnel. In 1980 they made up more than one-half of the high-level positions of the Fiji Public Service, the police force, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Health. Between 1974 and 1978 the Indians constituted more than two-thirds of those who passed the New Zealand university entrance examination, the prerequisite for university study in Fiji.

The Europeans and Part Europeans were primarily the descendants of Australian and New Zealand settlers, many of whom took local spouses. The Europeans were originally the plantation owners but have moved into commerce, industry, and government service. In the 1970s, however, the opportunities for government service tended to decrease, and many Europeans left the country. The 1976 census showed them nonetheless to be greatly overrepresented in professional, technical, administrative, and managerial employment. The Part European community has continued to grow, and some have asserted their independence from the Europeans by calling themselves Part Fijians. In 1976 members of this group were disproportionately employed in managerial, administrative, clerical, and sales work.

The Rotumans were a small minority, most of whom have migrated to Viti Levu from their distant home. They are Polynesian but mix well with the Fijians. Other Pacific islanders living in Fiji include some Solomon Islanders, Tongans, Samoans, and people from Kiribati. The people of Banaba (formerly Ocean Island) in Kiribati and some Tuvaluans have purchased islands in Fiji to replace their abandoned home islands; they remained under Fiji law in 1984 but had special autonomy. All these groups were distributed evenly throughout the various categories of

economic livelihood.

The Chinese first came to Fiji in the 1870s. Their numbers grew until the 1960s, when many decided to emigrate to Canada. The community included people from four southern Chinese dialect groups. The Chinese were overrepresented in the same economic areas as the Part Europeans. They maintained one Chinese-language school in Suva.

Religion and Education

Fiji is a crossroads of three of the world's great religions: Christianity, Hinduism, and Islam. The Constitution does not sanction an official religion but does invoke the name of God and guarantees the freedom of religious belief and proselytization. According to the 1976 census, only 1 percent of the population chose not to associate itself with a religion. About 51 percent of the population classified themselves as Christian, about 40 percent as Hindu, and 7.7 percent as Muslim.

Among Protestant Christian denominations, Methodists have been the most successful, building on the achievements of the early missionaries. They made up about 73 percent of the Christian community in 1976; nearly all were Fijian. The Roman Catholic church claimed about 17 percent of Christian adherents, including significant minorities of Chinese, Indians, Europeans, and Part Europeans. The Seventh-Day Adventist, Assembly of God, and Anglican churches each had 2 to 3 percent of the Christian community, while other denominations made up the rest.

Some 80 percent of the Indians identified themselves as Hindu. Each predominantly Indian community had at least one Hindu temple, and often there was a second temple representing a reformed sect. Although public and even household rituals have become infrequent, all Hindus took part in Fiji's two most important festivals, Holi and Dewah. Some of the orthodox Hindus—especially Southerners—performed rites of purification, such as puncturing their faces with metal skewers.

Muslims made up 15.4 percent of the Indian community in 1976. Over 63 percent of this group were Sunni Muslims. The largest mosque is at Lautoka, but there are numerous other mosques in other parts of Viti Levu in particular. Some 45 percent of the Muslims lilved in Ba Province.

Education has been closely associated with religion in Fiji since the Christian missions set up the first schools more than a century ago. As late as 1977, when detailed statistics were last available, Christian missions still ran 113 schools, while other reli-

gious bodies managed another 76. Local committees were in charge of 575 schools, and the government directly managed 35 others. Although school attendance was not compulsory, enrollment was universal in the 662 primary schools operating in 1981. Over 60 percent of the relevant age-group was enrolled in the 138 secondary and 36 technical and vocational schools operating that year. The number of primary students per teacher dropped from more than 30 students in 1970 to about 218 students in 1981. There were 18 students per teacher in secondary schools.

The increased enrollments and improved teacher-to-student ratio were aided by large government expenditures. In 1981 all classes through seventh grade were free, slightly behind the government target of having free education through eighth grade by 1980. Government support was in the form of full salaries for government-trained teachers, grants for privately trained teachers, free textbooks and other materials, and remittances for all student fees. The government spent approximately F$309 (for value of the Fiji dollar—see Glossary) per student in 1981, a 69-percent increase in real terms since 1971. Four teacher colleges—two of them state-run—had facilities for training some 600 teachers per year, but the number of graduates was reduced in 1981 as the nation neared its capacity for absorbing them. Fiji is the single largest contributor to and the home of the University of the South Pacific, based in Suva. The country has a small school of medicine, an agricultural college, a theological college, and a technology institute.

Throughout the history of the education system, the Indian community has urged that the government take over and transform the committee-run schools into genuinely multiethnic institutions. For its part the government has avowed that it favors desegregation, but as of 1978 more than 90 percent of the primary schools in the rural areas were under the control of a single ethnic group. By contrast nearly one-third of the primary schools in Suva were multiethnic. The secondary schools were more likely to have representatives from all ethnic groups, even in the countryside, because of their relative scarcity. The bifurcation of the school system persisted in the teachers' organizations, one of which represented Indian and the other Fijian teachers.

Through the fourth grade the language of instruction is the official Bauan dialect in the Fijian classes, Hindi in the Hindu Indian classes, Urdu in the Muslim Indian classes, and English in the European and Part European classes. Thereafter, English, which is taught as a second language from the very start, becomes

the sole language of instruction. Fijian and Hindi are optional testing areas in the junior-level examinations taken at the end of the tenth grade.

The most controversial educational policy has been the preference system for Fijian students at the university level. The government's policy has been that 50 percent of all scholarships be given to Fijians, even if this has meant a lowering of entrance requirements. Indian opposition to this system was a factor in the 1977 elections and has flared up on several other occasions.

The influence of religious and educational training on the value systems of the individuals and groups within Fiji society has been a matter of conjecture. The individualism of the Christian and Muslim faiths and the disintegration of the caste system among Hindus may be causing the deterioration of family obligations in the panoply of traditional social values. The educational curriculum, which has depended on imported textbooks and ideologies, may be further stressing the importance of individual effort and profit. One education analyst decried the incursion of Western ideas of consumption and capitalism as a blow to the rich traditional cultures of Fiji. Nonetheless, even those Fijian families that have escaped to Suva remained obligated to their rural kinfolk. Another remnant of the traditional cultures has been the continued low status of women, which has been reinforced by strictures in the Muslim and Hindu faiths. Arranged marriages have also continued in many Indian households.

Changes in the standards of social behavior have not all been for the good. Pressures for educational and economic achievement have weighed heavily on some young minds, causing psychological disorders and even suicides. One report suggested that suicides committed by youths was on the rise in the 1980s. The fact that Fijian suicide appeared to be rare suggested that some of the traditional communal supports were still operative in that community in the 1980s. Marijuana use was a growing but relatively limited problem among the youth of all ethnic groups.

Population and Social Welfare

The population of Fiji grew rapidly even after the end of official Indian immigration. The highest natural growth rates occurred in the 1950s, when the average was over 3 percent per year; the rate declined dramatically during the 1970s, when it was just under 2 percent per year. Urban growth trends were higher still and resulted in the concentration of about one-fifth of the population in the greater metropolitan area around Suva. The accep-

tance of modern methods of birth control and family planning by some 38 percent of married women in the childbearing ages as of 1977 has helped lower the growth rate. At the same time, both the death rate and the infant mortality rate have been well below those of countries having a similar economic status.

The major concentrations of the Indian population outside the capital city were in the sugarcane districts on the western and northwestern sides of the two main islands. The heaviest concentration of Fijians was in the lower Rewa River Valley on the eastern coast of Viti Levu. Other Fijian villages were located along the coasts, rivers, and streams.

The quality of life (by international standards) for the average Fiji citizen has been good. The life expectancy was nearly 70 years in 1982, infant mortality was less than 37 deaths per thousand, and although the number of people per physician was relatively large, the number for each nurse and each hospital bed was low. Over 70 percent of the population had access to safe water supplies, and over 96 percent had the use of sanitary sewerage facilities. Housing development has been chiefly an urban problem; some 13 percent of the people living in urban Suva were classified as squatters in 1983. In general, however, the housing stock has expanded to meet the needs of the growing population—with the exception of major setbacks, such as occurred during a hurricane in 1983. Government spending on housing and social services rose nearly twice as rapidly as the population during the 1971–81 period, even after accounting for inflation.

Because of budgetary constraints, however, welfare payments did not change from the maximum of F$40 a month for a family of four during the 1975–83 period. In 1982 only 4,000 people were classified as destitute, but the number was estimated to have grown by 20 percent in 1983. Many of the squatters living in Suva, moreover, earned more monthly income than the official poverty line, thus barring them from receiving support. More and more of the individuals on the social welfare rolls have been abandoned wives and chldren—a sign, perhaps, of a deteriorating family system.

The Economy

Although the gross domestic product (GDP—see Glossary), equivalent to about US$1,134 per person in 1982, was high by comparison with some other developing countries, the economy still depended heavily on sugar exports and tourism—both of which were sensitive to fluctuations in the international econ-

omy. About one-third of the Fijian work force, moreover, was still employed in subsistence farming or fishing. Fijians produced little for sale in the commercial sector, where the other ethnic groups generated most of the wealth. The narrow basis for future economic growth, persistent unemployment, and differences in the standard of living between urban and rural households continued to disturb the government, which nonetheless has presided over a relatively prosperous economy since the nation's independence.

National income statistics for Fiji have not been completely reliable, but the available data show that during the 1960–79 period, GDP grew by between 5 and 6 percent per year in real terms. The yearly pace of economic growth has varied, and it slowed considerably in the 1980s. Economic activity and income actually shrank in 1980, 1982, and 1983 because of depressed international sugar prices, increases in the cost of imported oil, and the onslaught of a hurricane and prolonged drought.

The structure of economic demand has changed slightly. From the 1958–60 period to the 1978–80 period, exports decreased in value from over 51 percent to 45 percent of GDP. Government consumption expenditure rose from 16 to 17 percent of GDP, while private consumption declined from 65 to 62 percent of GDP. Investment changed most strikingly from 16 to 24 percent of GDP. Some of the increase, however, went to the purchase of imports, raising their value from 48 to 50 percent of GDP. The gap between exports and imports widened further in 1981 and 1982, according to preliminary statistics, averaging about 9 percent of GDP.

The level of employment and unemployment, which was a major concern to the nation's economic policymakers, was difficult to determine because of the large subsistence sector. The labor force was probably growing by 2.5 to 3 percent per year during the 1976–81 period, but formal employment expanded at best by 2.9 percent per year. The negative economic growth rates experienced since that time suggest that the employment situation has deteriorated significantly.

Economic Policy and Management

The Fiji government has favored private enterprise and initiative since colonial times but has directed the economy through consecutive five-year plans, the eighth of which spanned the period from 1981 to 1985. The plans have helped guide public investment over the long run, despite temporary changes in fiscal

policy during individual years. The seventh and eighth plans concentrated on expanding investment in the rural sector, encouraging Fiji citizens to enter business ventures either on their own or jointly with foreign help, and improving the basic needs of the population through investment in public service.

Total government expenditure during the 1976–80 period averaged more than one-quarter of GDP, rising slightly during the period. Current expenditures were equivalent to 19 percent of GDP and increased more rapidly than capital expenditures. In 1981 total expenditure rose to more than 29 percent of GDP, pushed upward by capital spending, which topped 9 percent of GDP for the first time. The increased capital expenditures were devoted to a major water supply project in the Nadi and Lautoka areas and a large hydroelectric project. Budget estimates for 1982 and 1983, which were made before a major hurricane hit the islands in 1983, projected that total expenditures would remain at around 30 percent of GDP. Although capital spending was expected to fall off sharply, pressures for salary increases from the civil service and the cost of financing the national debt would boost the overall level of spending.

Expenditures on social services and welfare have made up the largest category of public spending, representing more than than 37 percent of the total in the 1976–80 period as spending on economic services and infrastructure rose. Interest payments on the outstanding government deficit also increased, from an average of about 6 percent of total expenditures during the 1976–80 period to nearly 10 percent of the total in the 1981–83 period.

The reasons for the increase in the government deficit from less than 4 percent of GDP in the 1976–80 period to nearly 6 percent in the 1981–83 period were the close link between government revenue and economic growth and the political difficulty in cutting expenditures and raising taxes. Domestic taxes were equivalent to 12 percent of GDP in the 1976–80 period, and taxes on international trade added another 6 percent. The total tax burden rose to about 20 percent of GDP in 1981. In 1982 and 1983, however, total tax revenue was estimated to have declined from 18 percent of GDP, particularly because of decreased revenues from excise and custom duties. Part of the shortfall was caused by reductions in export taxes for sugar and coconut products, which faced poor international prices until 1983.

Managing the money supply within the context of the balance of payments and inflation has been a major activity of the Ministry of Finance and the Central Monetary Authority, the nation's central bank. Much of the economy's inflation has been im-

ported, particularly since the surge of international oil prices began in 1973. The overall average increase in the consumer price level was about 10 percent per year during the 1972–82 period, but the worst years were those immediately after major adjustments to the price of imported oil. After peaking at about 14.5 percent in 1980, however, inflation fell to around 6 to 8 percent in the 1981–83 period. The central bank has generally followed a countercyclical monetary policy that encouraged domestic credit to expand when export earnings were low and restricted growth when the balance of payments was favorable. One noteworthy trend since the late 1970s has been the tendency of the government and official agencies, such as the public utilities, to grab a larger share of the available domestic credit; their claims rose from 15 to 26 percent of domestic credit during the 1976–82 period. To prevent any additional crowding out of the private sector, the government raised as many of its financing needs as possible overseas.

The central bank strictly regulated the local banking industry by maintaining maximum deposit and lending rates in all categories of finance in addition to reserve and central bank discount requirements. Beginning in late 1981, however, the banking authorities raised interest rates significantly. In 1983 and 1984 the Ministry of Finance introduced new banking legislation drafted with the advice of the International Monetary Fund (IMF—see Glossary) to reform the system. Among the many changes that were designed to make the financial market more efficient were the creation of merchant banks and the elimination of interest rate controls on large deposits and loans. In 1980 Fiji had five commercial banks—four foreign and one government-owned—one government development bank, and numerous credit unions.

Foreign trade has been critical to the well-being of the insular economy (see table 2). Merchandise exports, excluding reexports, have fluctuated between 15 and 25 percent of the value of GDP; earnings from services, especially tourism, have been equivalent to around 30 percent of GDP. The government has actively promoted exports by sending trade missions overseas, participating in international commodity and trade agreements, and closely monitoring foreign financial and trade markets. The central bank has carefully pegged the value of the Fiji dollar to the weighted value of the currencies of its major trading partners—Australia, Britain, Japan, New Zealand, and the United States (see table 3). Imports have averaged over 50 percent of the value of GDP, and customs duties have been relatively low in comparison with other developing countries.

Capital inflows in the form of international loans and investment have offset the frequent current account deficits; Fiji has received little grant assistance. The government had long-term loans of about F$146 million outstanding in 1982; debt-service payments were expected to be equivalent to some 7 percent of the value of export earnings in 1983. Direct foreign investment, which came to a complete halt in the 1976–78 period, increased by more than 50 percent per year from 1979 to 1982, when it totaled F$32 million. The government created the Economic Development Board in 1979 to be a one-stop center for approving foreign investments. The agency was elevated to executive rather than advisory status in 1981 and seems to have been at least partially responsible for the upsurge in investment. Although the government claimed to have one of the most favorable incentive programs for foreign investors in the world, a report compiled by a British consultant suggested that the system remained complex, understaffed, and inadequate by international standards.

Table 2. Fiji. Balance of Payments, 1981–83[1]
(in millions of Fiji dollars)[2]

	1981	1982	1983
PAYMENTS			
Merchandise imports			
Chemicals	17.6	14.2	21.9
Duty-free goods	25.5	23.9	23.4
Food, beverages, and animals	62.3	59.4	58.4
Machines and equipment	50.6	36.3	38.6
Mineral fuels	88.0	108.8	103.4
Raw materials	14.6	10.8	15.7
Textiles, clothing, and footwear	28.5	25.6	29.1
Transportation equipment	36.1	18.0	23.7
Government imports	10.3	12.3	1.2
Other imports	83.7	95.4	99.0
Total merchandise imports	417.2	404.7	414.4
Other current payments			
Transportation	10.7	7.2	8.1
Travel and tourism	13.7	14.1	14.9
Overseas investment income	25.6	38.8	27.2
Unrequited transfers	15.0	12.6	14.2
Other	60.4	70.5	55.5
Total other current payments	125.4	143.2	119.9
Capital payments[3]			
Private	11.5	11.5	11.2
Official	7.6	12.4	14.1
Total capital payments	19.1	23.9	25.3
TOTAL PAYMENTS	561.7	571.8	559.6

Table 2. (Continued)
(in millions of Fiji dollars)[2]

	1981	1982	1983
RECEIPTS			
Merchandise exports			
Copra and copra products	6.1	3.5	7.6
Fish	19.1	11.7	16.5
Ginger	1.3	1.4	1.5
Gold	13.9	14.7	18.0
Sugar	156.8	130.6	123.2
Timber	4.2	2.9	2.7
Other exports	6.4	8.2	8.9
Reexports of fuel	16.6	22.5	22.9
Other reexports	6.7	6.9	5.2
Total merchandise exports	231.1	202.4	206.5
Other current receipts			
Transportation	22.1	28.3	16.9
Travel and tourism	113.1	125.5	108.5
Overseas investment income	19.7	14.6	13.6
Unrequited transfers	16.7	18.0	17.8
Other	68.5	76.2	127.7
Total other current receipts	240.1	262.6	284.5
Capital receipts[4]			
Private	8.3	12.4	12.9
Official	47.2	53.4	39.0
Total capital receipts	55.5	65.8	51.9
TOTAL RECEIPTS	526.7	530.8	542.9
Merchandise trade balance	-186.1	-202.3	-207.9
Current account balance	-71.4	-82.9	-43.3
Capital account balance	36.4	41.9	26.6
Overall balance	-35.0	-41.0	-16.7
Change in net foreign assets	-14.0	-13.8	1.6
Adjustment[5]	21.0	27.2	18.3
Net foreign assets	120.1	106.3	108.0
Gross foreign reserves[6]	120.1	119.8	122.7

[1]Data are from foreign exchange records and are somewhat lower in value than customs statistics.
[2]For value of the Fiji dollar—see Glossary.
[3]Chiefly long-term.
[4]Chiefly long-term; data for 1981 include an allocation from the International Monetary Fund (IMF—see Glossary).
[5]Errors and omissions and changes in the value of foreign assets.
[6]Including borrowing from the IMF.

Source: Based on information from Fiji, Central Monetary Authority, *Annual Report, 1983*, Suva, 1984, 38a–39a.

The government has also intervened in the labor market via the Tripartite Forum, established in 1976. The forum has brought together for annual wage negotiations representatives of the Fiji Trade Union Congress—the largest labor federation in the country—the Fiji Employers' Consultative Association, and the government. Although the forum has no statutory authority, the

Table 3. Fiji. Direction of Trade, 1981–83[1]
(in millions of Fiji dollars)[2]

Country	Year	Imports	Exports		
			Domestic	Reexports	Total
Australia	1981	194.1	16.8	2.9	19.7
	1982	184.7	22.2	6.9	29.1
	1983	188.6	25.6	2.5	28.1
New Zealand	1981	75.1	18.8	3.0	21.8
	1982	74.5	22.6	3.1	25.7
	1983	80.8	10.3	1.9	12.2
Japan	1981	86.4	18.6	0.7	19.3
	1982	67.7	4.5	0.7	5.2
	1983	82.6	5.3	0.7	6.0
Britain	1981	29.5	64.6	2.8	67.4
	1982	19.8	58.3	1.6	59.9
	1983	24.9	59.6	1.3	60.9
United States	1981	38.7	23.9	3.8	27.7
	1982	17.5	19.0	7.5	26.5
	1983	19.1	16.8	3.9	20.7
Singapore	1981	37.7	9.0	0.1	9.1
	1982	43.8	8.8	0.7	9.5
	1983	20.7	9.3	0.3	9.6
Canada	1981	2.8	9.6	1.1	10.7
	1982	2.2	5.5	1.0	6.5
	1983	2.8	4.5	1.1	5.6
Other	1981	75.6	32.5	60.9	93.4
	1982	65.4	40.4	62.9	103.3
	1983	73.8	46.2	55.5	101.7
TOTAL	1981	539.9	193.8	75.3	269.1
	1982	475.6	181.3	84.4	265.7
	1983	493.3	177.6	67.2	244.8

[1]Imports are based on cost, insurance, and freight (c.i.f.) values and exports on free on board (f.o.b) values.
[2]For value of the Fiji dollar—see Glossary.

Source: Based on information from Fiji, Central Monetary Authority, *Annual Report, 1983*, Suva, 1984, 89.

members have generally agreed to abide by its findings. The decisions of this body have had an important effect on negotiations between the many smaller unions and employers' groups unaffiliated with the tripartite representatives. The 45 unions in existence in 1982 represented slightly more than one-half of the paid work force of 80,000.

In general, the government has steered clear of outright wage and price controls. Wages were expected to be determined

by collective bargaining agreements or, in the absence of unions, by the determination of wage councils, having equal representation from both management and labor. The government has set up agencies to regulate prices for the major utilities and selected agricultural, forestry, and fishery commodities. In 1983 there were 14 nonfinancial public enterprises engaged in producing or marketing economic goods and services.

Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing

Natural tropical forests covered some 848,000 hectares—nearly one-half the area of Fiji—in 1982. Sugarcane fields and coconut plantations stretched over some 140,000 hectares, pine tree plantations over 58,300 hectares, and mangrove swamps another 38,600 hectares. The remaining 750,000 hectares consisted of built-up areas or land used for subsistence and other types of agriculture. Sugarcane land has been the most economically useful for over a century, but the government expected the developing pine plantations to be valuable in the 1990s. The terms of land tenure and sugarcane marketing have been the most controversial issues facing the economy for decades. The nationalization of the sugar industry in 1973 went far toward placating the sugarcane farmers, but the land issues remained a sore point for the Indian community.

The basic controversy stemmed from the fact that the Fijian *mataqali* owned about 83 percent of all the land. The government had acquired title to 7 percent of the land, and another 10 percent belonged to the non-Fijians. As a result, about 30 percent of Fijian-owned land has been rented out, primarily to Indian farmers. Disputes between landlords and tenants over the payment of rent, the length of tenure, and compensation for improvements to the land have been frequent.

The Native Land Trust Board, established in 1940, determined which lands were to be reserved exclusively for Fijian use and administered the leasing of unreserved lands. The board was responsible for collecting all lease monies on behalf of the Fijians and in 1978 received F$1.7 million. In 1975 the board set up a subsidiary, the Native Land Development Corporation, to promote commercial farming among the Fijians. The Department of Land, Mines, and Surveys administered the leases for state-owned properties.

In 1967 representatives of the major ethnic groups and political parties agreed on the terms of the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance, just in time for the nation's independence.

The legislation provided that leases be drawn up for a minimum of 10 years on a renewable basis. In 1976 the legislature lengthened the minimum lease period to 30 years, giving the Indians somewhat more security. Rents, which had not been changed since the passage of the original ordinance, were allowed to be adjusted every five years. In addition, the amendments set up special land tribunals throughout the country, which had all the powers of a court in adjudicating land disputes.

Sugarcane. For more than a century sugarcane has been the mainstay of the economy, accounting for 70 to 80 percent of export revenues and for around 16 percent of GDP, including processing. The industry has employed about one-fourth of the work force and has indirectly benefited many others. The management of production changed drastically in March of 1973, when the government bought out all of the shares of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company and set up a monopoly named the Fiji Sugar Corporation (FSC). Since then, the FSC has monopolized all sugar milling. About 21,724 farms averaging 4.5 hectares in size sold their production to the mills for conversion into raw sugar and molasses in 1983. A separate government marketing organization sold most of the milled products overseas.

Since the late 1950s the quantity of sugarcane supplied by the small farmers has more than doubled; production rose from 2.7 million tons to more than 4 million tons from 1977 to 1982 alone. The increase resulted almost exclusively from the expansion of the area cultivated; farming skills, such as the proper application of fertilizer, variety selection, and land management have been well developed for 30 years or more. The average yield per hectare harvested has increased, however, from 57 tons in the 1956–60 period to 65 tons in the 1976–80 period. Most of the variation was caused by weather conditions, the single most important factor in production. The 1982 harvest was a record 4.1 million tons of cane. In 1983 and 1984, however, the combined effects of a hurricane and a prolonged drought caused a severe hardship for most farmers. Analysts projected in late 1983 that F$12 to F$18 million of financial subsidies would be needed to get the industry up to the production of 415,000 tons of refined sugar by 1987—about 15 percent less than in 1982.

The production shortfall was making it difficult for Fiji to live up to its contractual obligations for deliveries to several international markets. Fiji had about 256,000 tons of raw sugar in 1983 to fulfill contracts for 380,000 tons worldwide. Since 1982 the government has been able to stockpile 18,000 tons of reserves previ-

Modern sugar mill (above) and sugar transportation terminal at Lautoka (below)
Courtesy Fiji Visitors Bureau

ously committed to the International Sugar Organization (ISO), in which Fiji was an active member. The ISO was willing to let the nation retain another 26,000 tons by the end of 1984. These reserves would enable the country to keep its contracts with Britain, which paid an attractive price for Fiji sugar. The marketing authority also hoped to cancel part of the agreements with New Zealand, Malaysia, and China so that it could fulfill its contracts with the European Economic Community (EEC), which also paid a special price under the terms of the Lomé Convention (see Glossary). Fiji's EEC quota was 174,000 tons in 1983. The government also imported some white sugar from the Philippines in 1983 for domestic consumption in order to free supplies of brown sugar for export to the United States. Despite these measures, however, the timing of the shortfall with a cyclical rise in the world price for sugar was expected to cost the nation some F$80 to F$100 million of lost revenue.

The long-term prospects for Fiji sugar remained good in 1984. The farmers received an excellent incentive to produce from the pricing system, which returned some 70 to 75 percent of revenues from sugar sales to them, after deductions were made for the costs of marketing, research, and the staffing of a few management boards. The actual percentage depended on the quantity of sugar produced. Using tractors or trucks, the farmers bore the cost of transporting the cane to the nearest mill or to the nearest loading point on the FSC railroad system. Each sugar mill, moreover, maintained a field services staff that contacted the farmers and instructed them in the use of the appropriate varieties and fertilizers, which the FSC also supplied. The FSC has expanded its milling capacity at all of the mills and has been rehabilitating its aging equipment since 1982, although some of the work has been postponed because of financial constraints. Despite these improvements and the relatively high wages paid to the farmers and mill workers, the costs of sugar production in Fiji remained among the 10 lowest in the world.

Fiji has also been a leader in world research on sugarcane. Its research center in Lautoka maintained some 4,000 hybrid varieties and produced about 1,500 experimental varieties each year. Except for the possible introduction of cane in the Rewa River Valley, most of the future extension of the area planted would be in less fertile soils on sloping terrain, thus necessitating the development of hardier sugarcane varieties. The research staff has been concentrating on this problem.

Other Crops and Livestock. Although some Fijians engaged in

commercial sugarcane farming in 1984, a vast majority worked subsistence farms, obtaining their cash requirements from the sale of coconuts or copra. About one-half of the copra produced, however, came from plantations owned by Europeans or Part Europeans, who often employed Fijian laborers. The other half came from native stands. About 59 percent of the 22,000 tons of copra produced in 1982 came from Northern Division, particularly from the Savusavu area of Vanua Levu and from Taveuni, where the plantations were located. Rotuma, the Lau Group, and the Lomaiviti Group produced most of the rest, chiefly from native stands. Production, however, decreased from nearly 31,000 tons in 1977. Not only had the trees become aged and unproductive but also many coconuts were being diverted to urban consumers. The government more than doubled the area planted with new coconut varieties in 1982 to 680 hectares. A new pricing proposal that would raise the average earnings of farmers some F$40 per ton of copra was opposed by the two international companies processing coconut oil in 1983 but would go a long way to improving the incentives for production. One domestic processor, however, said he was happy with the new payment formula.

The government has not been very successful in its drive to make the country self-sufficient in the production of rice, a major staple of the Indian community. Over one-half of the nearly 44,000 tons of unmilled rice consumed in 1982 was imported at a cost of about F$6.4 million. Over three-quarters of the rice produced came from about 8,500 hectares of rain-fed fields; only 1,100 hectares of irrigated fields were harvested. China and Australia were offering assistance in irrigated rice culture at Navua, on the southern coast of Viti Levu, and along the Dreketi River in Vanua Levu. Most of the rain-fed rice fields were located in the sugarcane areas.

Root crops—especially taro, cassava, and yams—have been the most important staples of the diet. Since most production took place on subsistence farms, production statistics have been available chiefly for commercial farms. According to the 1978 agricultural census, taro was produced on about 2,900 hectares of land, only 500 hectares of which were commercial. As of 1982 the area under commercial production had been increasing by over 12 percent per year and production itself by 15 percent per year. Commercial cassava production also increased by 15 percent per year to 16,150 tons from 850 hectares in 1982. Yams were mostly grown in Northern and Eastern divisions; commercial production increased by over 68 percent per year from 1976 to 1982, when 3,570 tons were harvested on 255 planted hectares.

Other crops grown primarily for export included ginger, cacao, passion fruit, oranges, pineapples, and coffee. With the exception of ginger, the production of which grew by over 11 percent per year after 1977 to 4,500 tons in 1982, farm output has been small. Abundant vegetables for the home market were produced on small farms in the Sigatoka River Valley, known as the nation's "salad bowl," and in the Rewa River Valley.

A major objective of the government has been to improve the domestic supplies of livestock products, and, except for mutton, the goal has virtually been met. In 1982 Fiji was able to produce domestically all of its poultry, some 97 percent of its pork, about 92 percent of its beef, approximately 72 percent of its goat meat, but none of its mutton requirements. Most of the cattle farms, including many under the supervision of the Fiji Development Bank, were in Central and Western divisions. Australian and New Zealand aid teams were assisting in the development of a 40,000-hectare scheme on Kadavu and on some 25,000 hectares of farms in the upper reaches of the Sigatoka River. Local dairy production was concentrated on small farms in the Rewa River area, which produced less than 15 percent of the nation's needs in 1982. In 1983 New Zealand promised Fiji some F$300,000 of assistance to build the country's first tannery. The drought in 1983 and 1984, however, seriously weakened the existing cattle herds.

Forestry. Wood products have been an important source of building materials, cash earnings, and energy. During the 1970s the country became virtually self-sufficient in the production of sawed timber and plywood and began to export small quantities. In 1981 about 220,000 cubic meters were harvested, of which some 17,000 cubic meters were exported; about 2,500 square meters of veneers and plywoods were also sold overseas. Altogether about 250,000 hectares of natural forest were considered to be of commercial value. The Forestry Department, however, has strictly regulated the harvest to maintain at least 60 percent of the forest cover in the logging areas and to prevent the extraction of undersized trees.

In an effort to maximize the rich potential for forestry, the government established the Fiji Pine Commission in 1976 to plant pine plantations on unused or denuded land. By 1982 the commission controlled some 40,000 hectares of plantations; private planters and the Forestry Department had also established some pine plantations. The commission was planting an additional 2,000 hectares a year in the early 1980s. Experience has shown that livestock could also be raised successfully among the

trees. In 1982 only about 12,000 cubic meters of plantation pines were exported; by 1985 the government hoped to more than triple production. By the late 1980s the government planned to export some F$50 million of pine logs, chips, and pulp each year—more than one-third of the value of sugar exports. In one plantation area, however, the local chieftain has opposed the government's chosen joint venture partner, British Petroleum, in exploiting the pine forests.

In the 1960s and early 1970s Fiji also developed some 11,000 hectares of mahogany plantations. A tree disease attacked the plantations in 1972, halting expansion, but in 1982 an estimated 16,000 cubic meters of hardwoods were felled in these forests. Efforts to expand the area under tropical hardwoods were proceeding more slowly than for softwoods.

Fishing. Commercial fishing remained relatively underdeveloped in 1984. The government-owned Ika Corporation maintained a fleet of 13 pole-and-line tuna fishing vessels, eight of them hired from other domestic and foreign companies. Its catch in 1982, however, was only 3,830 tons, down from a modest record of 4,700 tons the year before. The director of the corporation was forced to resign in 1983 because the company had accumulated debts totaling more than F$2.2 million. The director had nevertheless taken important steps to replace the large, inefficient vessels with smaller, more fuel-efficient ones from a government shipyard in Suva. The outgoing director had advised hiring Japanese skippers to take over the helms of the company ships until the Fijian captains were better trained.

Private purse seine and longline vessels also fished for tuna from bases in Fiji, catching more than 4,000 tons in 1982. Shark fins, smoked fish, shellfish, and other fish and fish commodities totaled more than 4,700 tons in 1982. The total production for that year was down from 13,800 tons in 1981. As a result, the value of fishery exports decreased from F$18.8 to F$13 million.

The 2,800 coastal fishing vessels that produced fresh fish for local consumption have marketed more and more of their produce at centers run by the National Marketing Authority or private canneries. The government authority has expanded the amount of freezer space at its facilities and has regulated fish prices so that the fishing families could receive a profitable margin. Coastal fishing was hindered by the rapid drop-off of the continental shelf around many of the islands, which made fishing for bottom fish difficult. Coastal fishing vessels nevertheless netted about one-third of the catch in 1982. Fish farming, which had an

excellent potential in Fiji, was at the experimental stage in the early 1980s and produced only a small catch.

Industry and Services

The industrial sector depended greatly on Fiji's agriculture. The most important industries were for processing sugarcane, copra, timber, and food. The production of commercial energy from the nation's hydroelectric resources has become more important than the small mining industry, which has been able to export only limited quantities of gold. Even more significant for employment and income has been the services sector, including transportation, communications, and a host of commercial activities catering to the needs of both the country's people and the many visiting tourists.

Mining and Energy. Gold has been the principle commodity produced for more than 45 years. The town of Vatukoula grew up around the Emperor Mine. Production, however, dropped steadily in the 1970s, and only 88 kilograms were produced for export in 1981. In 1982 the government renewed the mining company's contract for another 21 years, and a second Australian-based firm joined an expanded project. The new partner was helping the old company to recover from some F$3 million in losses and to prospect about 6,000 hectares of land next to the existing mine. Some 1,000 Fijian workers employed at the mine had been hard hit by layoffs in the early 1980s.

Besides a few quarrying operations, the only other mining activity has been exploratory. Some prospecting for commercial quantities of copper was being carried out near Suva in 1984. A Japanese consortium explored some bauxite reserves but abandoned the work in 1974. No significant sources of petroleum or mineral fuels have been discovered, although some 7,150 kilometers of survey work was finished during the 1969–70 period. Another 7,000 kilometers were surveyed using newer technology in the 1979–81 period, often in the areas previously explored. Despite the occurrence of favorable source rocks both onshore and offshore, the seven wells drilled have found no recoverable reserves. The pace of the drilling efforts was slowing in the 1980s, and the poor results have discouraged foreign oil companies. If discoveries were to be made, most observers believed the drilling would have to go much deeper than before, to 3,000 to 5,000 meters.

The lack of domestic supplies of hydrocarbons has made the country extremely dependent on imported energy. In 1982 oil

imports for domestic use totaled 397,000 tons; this volume accounted for 43 percent of the energy produced that year. Coal imports have been a minor source of energy, but domestically produced fuelwood and bagasse (sugarcane husks) made up more than one-half of the energy supplied. The fuelwood was mostly burned in the rural areas for home cooking or copra drying; some was converted to charcoal for sale in the urban areas. The sugarcane mills burned bagasse to produce electricity for their milling operations and even sold some overflow to the public utility. The government regulated the prices of commercial energy but generally allowed increased import prices to be passed on to the consumers. As a result, oil consumption declined by about 2 percent per year during the 1975–82 period.

Oil consumption was expected to drop dramatically after the completion of new facilities for producing electricity, the major form of oil energy. The government utility, the Fiji Electricity Authority (FEA), produced about 95 percent of the nation's electricity in 1982 on the islands of Viti Levu, Vanua Levu, and Ovalau. The installed capacity was 85 megawatts, the chief load centers being Suva, Lautoka, Nadi, Labasa, Savusavu, and Levuka. In late 1983, however, the first stage in the country's most important development project ever, the Monasavu Hydroelectric Scheme, was completed. Located high in the Nadrau Plateau, the F$220 million project would eventually have an installed capacity of 80 megawatts—enough to supply the country's needs through the early 1990s. Although initially the power project would have twice the needed capacity, it would still be less expensive than importing diesel fuel and would reduce the nation's import bill by some 60 percent at a saving of about F$18 million per year. The only drawback to the successful completion of the project was the prospect of discharging the more than 7,000 workers who have built the facilities on difficult terrain. After two years of delay, the project was expected to be fully completed by 1985, when it would be able to produce 400 million kilowatt-hours of electricity, about 190 million kilowatt-hours more than projected domestic consumption. Other proved areas for hydroelectric development on Viti Levu, which were under investigation in 1984, totaled more than 1,600 megawatts of capacity.

Vanua Levu and the smaller islands required different kinds of facilities than Viti Levu. Small-scale hydroelectric sites were under investigation on Vanua Levu and Taveuni, and the FEA has programmed the construction of a dam to serve Labasa. In addition to supplies from the nearby sugar mill, the local sawmills and planned wood-processing plants might be able to burn their

waste to add electricity to the system. In the outlying areas solar power generators have been installed to run the government-owned telecommunications equipment. Rural residents were poorly served by the existing system; whereas one-half of the homes in the urban and suburban areas had electrical connections in 1982, only one-fourth of those in the rural areas received electricity. The FEA, which had responsibility only for the major islands, was adding about 2,000 new connections each year. The Public Works Department was in charge of installing small generators in the outlying islands and had set up eight diesel plants serving 4,000 people during the 1978–82 period. The government estimated that 80,000 additional connections would be required to cover the entire country. The Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources has been in charge of the country's energy plans.

Transportation and Communications. Roads have become the most important means of transportation on the main islands; a 500-kilometer highway roughly encircled Viti Levu in 1981. Altogether there were about 3,300 kilometers of roads in Fiji in 1981, of which some 1,200 had all-weather surfaces. About 400 kilometers of highway, including the resurfaced road from Nadi to Suva, had asphalt surfaces. In 1981 there were 22,000 private cars, some 16,400 trucks, about 3,500 taxis and rental cars, over 1,100 buses, some 3,400 tractors, and 2,400 motorcycles licensed for use.

Interisland shipping has been taken over by barges towed by tugs; the Marine Department has also allowed passengers to ride its ships. The main port of entry, Suva, handled more than 750 foreign and 650 local vessels in 1981. Lautoka, which opened a new wharf the year before, served 322 foreign and 126 domestic ships. The other port of entry, at Levuka, primarily served fishing fleets. In 1981 the local shipping fleets included 234 vessels totaling 19,500 gross registered tons.

Air transportation has become increasingly important for the tourist industry and for interisland traffic. Air Pacific, the official international carrier, maintained a fleet of three jet and four propeller aircraft in 1981, which flew in and out of the expanded international airport at Nadi. The government owned about three-quarters of the company, which has suffered yearly losses. Fiji Air, a private concern previously owned by Air Pacific, had a fleet of six small aircraft that served some 13 local airports.

All 725 kilometers of permanent 0.61-meter-gauge railroad track was maintained by the FSC. The company has accepted passengers on occasion but has never charged fares.

The telecommunications network has improved steadily. Automatic exchanges were in operation at most of the major towns on Viti Levu in 1984; telephone and radio-telephone facilities were in place on nearly every populated island. Fiji has been a communications center for the other Pacific countries and was linked to Australia and New Zealand via an undersea cable. There was a satellite receiving station near Suva.

The government controlled all radiobroadcasting through the services of the Fiji Broadcasting Commission, which transmitted programs in Fijian, Hindi, and English on three separate stations. There was no television station in 1984; the 6,000 television sets in use were set up for video cassettes or for expensive satellite reception. In 1983 a United States corporation offered to set up low-power facilities to broadcast in English and Fijian simultaneously using special decoders on the television receivers. The government has said it preferred to set up a cassette network first.

About one dozen newspapers and periodicals, written in Fijian, Hindi, and English, provided a vital and vociferous free press. The oldest newspaper, the *Fiji Times*, was established in 1869. More than 34 post offices and many postal agencies served even the remotest areas of the country and kept the population in written contact with one another.

Tourism and Other Commercial Enterprises. Earnings from tourism reached F$64 million in 1982 and were expected to surpass those from sugarcane exports in 1983. The government estimated, however, that some F$78 million in revenue leaked out of the country in 1982 in payments to the foreign firms and individuals who controlled much of the industry. That year 204,000 tourists visited the islands, a new record. However, the destruction of 685 of the 4,000 available hotel rooms by a hurricane in 1983 would probably interfere with the industry's growth. The boom in hotel construction since the late 1970s was slowing somewhat, and local industry specialists argued that medium-priced rather than luxury facilities were sorely needed. One-half of the tourist arrivals in 1982 were from Australia; New Zealand and Japan contributed much of the remainder.

The Ministry of Commerce and Industry and other government agencies have been attempting to get local enterprises to produce more and more of the goods and services needed by the tourists and local population. Imports of building materials and supplies for the most expensive resorts continued to consume valuable foreign exchange. Three industrial zones have, however,

grown up around Suva and were spreading toward Nausori. The government has set up industrial estates at Lautoka, Nausori, Ba, Tavua, Labasa, Savusavu, Rakiraki, Levuka, and on Taveuni and was planning to open new parks in more rural areas. The major industries that have developed included those producing soaps, beer, rum, canned food, small ships, cement, cigarettes, and aluminum products. The Economic Development Board has most actively sought foreign investors to set up fruit farms for both the domestic and the export sectors.

In 1982 there were 3,340 commercial establishments registered in Fiji; 92 percent were headquartered in the country, about 4 percent in Australia, some 1 percent in Britain, and the rest in unspecified countries. Only 1 percent of the local companies sold stock openly to the public. A study conducted in 1980 showed that foreign-controlled companies accounted for anywhere from 28 to 53 percent of the nation's GDP, depending on the definitions of "control" and "GDP" used. Only 2 percent of the workers in these companies were expatriates. Cooperative enterprises have been in existence since the 1950s, and in 1979 more than 1,100 cooperative societies served some 40,000 members. About 800 of the cooperatives were consumer oriented, marketing goods in the villages. There were some 21 wholesale cooperatives, two of which collected copra from the villages. In 1978 the agency in charge of developing cooperatives was promoted to the cabinet level. In 1982 state-owned enterprises were involved in the production of timber, fish, electricity, sugar, and livestock. State enterprises also provided air transportation, broadcasting, telecommunications, banking, and marketing services.

The Political System and Security

The British-issued Fiji Independence Order of 1970, which includes the Constitution of Fiji, enshrines the principle that the Fijian community is entitled to some special privileges but establishes a British-style parliamentary system open to free and vigorous political competition for all. The rivalry between the often ethnically based political parties has been restricted only by common rules of public order and by the constitutional requirement that parliamentary representation reflect a statutory ethnic balance. The independent judiciary, autonomous commissions, free press, and political police and military forces have helped preserve the free political environment.

The Constitution guarantees to all citizens, regardless of race or creed, fundamental human rights, including life, liberty, secu-

Government offices in Suva, the national capital of Fiji
Courtesy Fiji Visitors Bureau

rity, free conscience and expression, free assembly, and the protection of privacy and property. It grants citizenship to all persons born or registered as Commonwealth citizens in Fiji as of May 6, 1970, together with their offspring. Commonwealth citizens may become naturalized Fiji citizens after residing in the country for seven years; others must wait nine years. The Constitution does, however, contain special provisions concerning certain ethnic groups. It effectively preserves all legislation regarding the special administration of land tenure and local government for the Fijian and Rotuman communities by requiring a four-fifths vote in the House of Representatives to alter it. Immigrants from the island of Banaba in Kiribati, who live on Rabi Island, are similarly protected (see Kiribati, ch. 3).

The Constitution furthermore requires that parliamentary seats be apportioned according to ethnic quotas that do not neces-

sarily coincide with the population census. In the House of Representatives, which originates and enacts all legislation, there must be 22 Fijians, 22 Indians, and eight others, who have come to be known as General Elector representatives. All adults over the age of 21 who wish to vote must register on two lists—the Communal Roll and the National Roll. According to the former, each voter selects one candidate from his or her ethnic group, filling 12 Fijian, 12 Indian, and three General Elector seats. The National Roll allows each individual to vote for one candidate in each of the three ethnic categories to choose the remaining seats. The Senate, which has only limited powers of legislative review, consists of eight members nominated by the Great Council of Chiefs, seven by the prime minister, six by the leader of the opposition, and one by the Council of Rotuma. Representatives, elected by universal adult suffrage, sit for terms of five years and senators for six, unless parliament is dissolved by a vote of no confidence or on the decision of the prime minister.

The titular head of state is the British sovereign, who appoints the governor general of Fiji based on the recommendation of parliament. The governor general in turn conducts the ceremonies of the head of state. Since 1973 the governor general has been a Fijian.

The prime minister is empowered to appoint a cabinet, which in 1984 consisted of 18 ministers. Each is usually backed by a department having national and local offices. The Constitution also requires that the prime minister and governor general appoint an attorney general, ombudsman, and auditor general, as well as officers to manage elections and prosecutions. It also charters commissions to oversee various public services.

The Great Council of Chiefs, the modern version of the Council of Chiefs established in the late nineteenth century, headed the Fijian administration. Its membership has become more and more representative, including some of the Fijian members of the House of Representatives, representatives of 13 elected provincial councils, and others appointed by the minister of Fijian affairs. The minister of Fijian affairs has usually been in charge of rural development and sometimes has been the deputy prime minister. The Fijian Affairs Board, subsumed in this ministerial portfolio, took care of the day-to-day affairs of Fijian administration, approving the membership and regulations of the provincial councils.

Outside of the Fijian provincial councils and special councils for Rotuma and Rabi islands, local government was managed by four appointed divisional administrations and elected city and

town councils. The divisional commissioners, appointed by the prime minister, set up district offices in the main population centers; in many rural areas, however, the local officials of the Health Department were the sole representatives of the central government. In 1981 city councils served the residents of Suva and Lautoka, while town councils operated in Nadi, Ba, Sigatoka, Labasa, Nausori, Levuka, Savusavu, and Lami. The councils could raise revenues as they saw fit but also received support from the central government. The dual system of representation has left rural Indians out of local government, and many have urged that the provincial councils be expanded to include Indian representatives.

The Constitution creates a legal system consisting of the Supreme Court, the Fiji Court of Appeals, and resident magistrate's courts. Up to seven judges, in addition to the chief justice, may be appointed to the Supreme Court by the governor general, who acts on the advice of the prime minister, the leader of the opposition, and the Judicial and Legal Services Commission. The Supreme Court rules on all constitutional issues and performs functions identical to those of the High Court of Justice in Britain. It also acts as the Fiji Court of Appeals in criminal and civil cases sent from the magistrate's courts. Further appeals can be made to the Privy Council in London. In a departure from the British system of jurisprudence, court cases are decided not by a jury but by the presiding judge or judges on the advice of no fewer than two legal assessors. The Judicial and Legal Services Commission appointed 14 resident magistrates in 1980 that were responsible for convening 12 full-time and 20 part-time courts around the country. Magistrate's courts heard all criminal cases involving property and those involving personal harm below the level of manslaughter.

Politics

Political analysts, such as R. S. Milne, have identified three persistent issues in Fiji politics: the electoral process, the land tenure system, and the management of the sugarcane economy. The interest groups that vied for a voice in public policy were organized primarily along ethnic lines and channeled their influence through political parties similarly divided. In general, all parties seemed to agree on a democratic and free-market approach to the political and economic development of Fiji. The Indian community, however, felt that the constitutional system has

impeded the full representation of its interests and aspirations.

The first political party in Fiji history was the Fijian Association. Founded in 1954 by Ratu Sukuna, its aims were to support the existing Fijian administration against pressures for reform. After the 1963 elections a group of students that had returned from Britain—including Ratu Kamisese Mara—transformed the association into a more modern party having specialized agencies, well-organized branches, and a mass appeal to the voters. Before and during the constitutional conference held in London in 1965, Mara forged relations with representatives of other ethnic groups—in particular, the Europeans and Part Europeans. In March 1966 the Fijian Association became the senior member of the new Alliance Party, which included the Indian-run National Congress of Fiji (later the Indian Alliance) and the General Electors' Association. The Alliance Party led the country to independence and has formed every new government since then under the leadership of Mara, who came to be known officially as Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara.

The Alliance Party modernized in response to the well-organized and activist National Federation Party (NFP), which emerged in 1964 out of the most militant of the sugarcane workers' unions. One analyst has concluded that the NFP won over the support of the orthodox Hindus and Muslims in these early years, while the reformists from both groups joined the Alliance Party. Whatever the case, the NFP became the party of the Indian community, advocating the abolition of the Communal Roll and increased Indian influence in the government. Allegations that the party founder's immediate successor, Siddique Koya, was cooperating too readily with Mara's government split the NFP into two factions in 1977. In 1979, however, the party reunited under the leadership of Jai Ram Reddy, who was the opposition leader in 1984.

A small but highly controversial force in Fiji politics was the Fijian Nationalist Party. Formed by Sakeasi Butadroka, who was expelled from the Alliance Party in 1972, the party's slogan was "Fiji for the Fijians." In 1975 Butadroka went so far as to introduce a bill in parliament that would have forced all of the Indians to leave Fiji. The reaction to the inflammatory bill was predictably condemnatory, but the party captured a sizable portion of the Fijian electorate in the first of two polls in 1977.

A new political party called the Western United Front (WUF) appeared on the scene in 1981. Created by a previously independent Fijian member of parliament, Ratu Osea Gavidi, the WUF represented the interests of a group of Fijian *mataqali* in

the western part of Viti Levu that opposed certain provisions of the government pine forest scheme.

Four parliamentry elections have taken place since Fiji's independence, but only three have formed governments. The 1972 election resulted in 63 percent of the seats in the House of Representatives going to the Alliance Party and the rest to the opposition NFP. In the March and April elections of 1977, the NFP took 50 percent of the seats after the upstart Fijian National Party siphoned one-fourth of the Fijian vote from the Alliance Party. The NFP, however, was unable to form a government because it split into two factions, and a new election was held in September. Prime Minister Mara's party made a remarkable recovery, aided in part by Butadroka's confinement for violations of the law. The Alliance Party won 62 percent of the seats.

The July 1982 elections were much more closely contended than those in late 1977, and the campaign was marred by acrimonious allegations of foreign involvement on behalf of both major parties. The voter turnout was a record 86 percent, and the voting was almost entirely along ethnic lines. The Alliance Party took all 12 of the Fijian communal seats, capturing 86 percent of the vote, while the NFP won all 12 Indian seats with 84 percent of the vote. The Alliance Party took all the national seats in the election districts having a Fijian majority and two seats in districts having only narrow Indian majorities. The remainder of the Indian districts gave their seats to the NFP. The WUF, which ran in coalition with the NFP, won two seats in the National Roll. The Alliance Party took six of the eight General Elector seats. The poor showing of the government party caused Mara to tender his resignation, but he was coaxed back into heading a new government.

In 1983 a special Royal Commission of Inquiry investigated charges by both major parties that the other had engaged in unfair and illegal campaign practices. The opposition accused the government of smear tactics that aimed to stir up ethnic disquiet and charged that an Australian consulting firm had advised the government to buy off some of the opposition candidates. The government accused the NFP of receiving money from agents of the Soviet Union in exchange for a promise that it could open an embassy and other facilities in Suva. The government also accused the opposition of cooperating with Australian leftists who filmed a documentary critical of the Mara government. In early 1984 the commission declared that the evidence on all sides was seriously lacking and recommended that criminal charges of any kind not be pursued.

A broader coalition of national uity has been proposed on several occasions, but in 1984 its prospects seemed dim. The closest the country has come to a grand coalition was during the period leading up to and immediately following independence, when the Alliance Party and the NFP cooperated out of necessity in the negotiations with Britain and in the building of a new government structure without resort to violence. Agreement on the nationalization and management of the sugar industry, for example, was achieved by a joint committee of both parties in the House of Representatives. The rise of the Fijian National Party, however, made coalition politics impractical. Faced with the loss of a sizable part of the Fijian electorate, Mara rejected a bid from one of the factions of the NFP to form a coalition government, which would have risked the further alienation of his Fijian supporters. In 1980, one year after the former president of the Indian Alliance and minister of economic planning, Vijay Singh, defected to the NFP, Mara himself suggested a coalition. Jai Ram Reddy, however, would accept nothing short of an equal sharing of power and ultimately denounced the offer as unfair. The acrimony of the 1982 campaign and the investigation into its management in 1983 hindered the prospects for a coalition in 1984.

The major interest groups—including labor unions, business organizations, religious bodies, and educational organizations—generally divided along ethnic lines. Labor groups were perhaps less segmented into ethnic components than other groups, but individual unions within the two multiethnic labor federations were often predominantly Fijian or Indian in membership. They remained concerned about the bread-and-butter issues of wages and benefits peculiar to their industry. The business community was represented in local chambers of commerce and employers' groups. Because few Fijians had achieved entrepreneurial success, there were usually two separate chambers of commerce—one for the Indian and one for the rest of the non-Fijian community. Separate religious organizations within the Muslim and Hindu communities represented conservative and orthodox opinions on language, education, and public morality. The Methodist church has remained largely apolitical. One particularly active Indian group managed schools that catered to students from the southern Indian community.

Foreign Relations and Security

Fiji has rivaled Papua New Guinea for leadership of the island states of Oceania. Fiji has been the home of the South Pacific

Bureau for Economic Cooperation—the secretariat of the South Pacific Forum—and the University of the South Pacific since their inception (see Appendix B). Mara represented the South Pacific Forum in 1982 during negotiations with France over the status of New Caledonia. He has also led his country in active participation in the organizations of the United Nations (UN), including its peacekeeping forces.

Fiji has maintained especially close relations with Australia, New Zealand, and Tonga. Australia and New Zealand were its major trading partners, and among all Pacific nations Fiji benefited most from the South Pacific Area Regional Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement (SPARTECA—see Glossary), effected with these countries in 1981. SPARTECA has created F$10 million to F$15 million in duty-free exports for Fiji each year. Relations with the other Melanesian countries were good but not always warm. Vanuatu, disturbed by Fiji's pro-Western stance and loose affiliation with the Polynesian countries, has even proposed creating a regional organization of Melanesian states that would exclude Fiji (see Vanuatu, this ch.).

In the rivalry between the superpowers, Fiji has avowed its neutrality. Its refusal to enter into the Nonaligned Movement has been defended on the grounds that that organization was tilting toward the Soviet Union. Fiji's own political and economic choices, however, have made it seem more sympathetic to the Western nations and Japan, a fact that neatly coincided with its traditionally warm relations with Britain and the Commonwealth of Nations. Fiji's national motto, "Fear God and serve the Queen," was not a quaint anachronism. Another sign of Fiji's accommodation toward the Western nations was its decision in 1983 to reverse its previous policy of banning from Fiji ports nuclear-powered ships or vessels carrying nuclear weapons. The government continued its support, however, for efforts to establish a nuclear-free Pacific and adamantly opposed nuclear weapons testing and the storage of radioactive materials in the region.

Fiji was not a signatory of any international security agreement. The foreign minister stated in 1983, however, that the government acted on advice from Australia and New Zealand—members of the Security Treaty Between Australia, New Zealand, and the United States of America (the ANZUS treaty)—in reversing its policy on nuclear ships (see The ANZUS Treaty and Other Security Arrangements, ch. 5; Appendix C). These countries suggested that, should Fiji change its policy, it would receive ready assistance form them in preserving its security. Since colonial times, Fiji military officers have trained in Australia and New

Zealand, and both New Zealand and British troops have used Fiji as a training ground for jungle warfare. Until 1981 the chief of staff of the Royal Fiji Military Forces (RFMF) was a New Zealander.

The all-volunteer RFMF has never seen action on Fiji territory; in 1983 there were nearly as many Fiji soldiers stationed in the Sinai and Lebanon as part of the UN forces as there were in Fiji. All told, the RFMF army had 2,500 uniformed soldiers in 1983—about 1,900 regulars and some 600 so-called territorial forces. The latter could either be former regulars or new recruits and, like the regulars, were eligible for service in the UN forces. One infantry battalion was stationed in Lebanon, another in the Sinai, and a third at home in 1983; there was also a small engineering company and a modest artillery company.

In 1974 the RFMF created a naval division to carry out the increasingly important function of patrolling the nation's 200-nautical-mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ—see Glossary). Based in Suva, the navy had 26 officers and 145 sailors in 1983. It had three former United States "Redwing" coastal minesweepers, one 303-ton survey craft, an eight-ton survey launch, and an 85-ton patrol craft. The division set up a national surveillance center in 1984 that depended on radio and telephone reports from passing vessels and aircraft to report activities within the EEZ. The RFMF had no air wing and depended on visiting New Zealand aircraft, especially helicopters, for occasional training missions. In early 1984 Australia mooted the possibility of staging periodic air reconnaissance missions out of Nadi Airport that would carry RFMF soldiers patrolling the EEZ.

The Fijians have found service in the RFMF most attractive, but in the late 1970s at least one-third of the forces were Indian. Since 1981 the chief of staff of the RFMF has been a Fijian. Service in the UN forces in the Middle East, for which the RFMF soldiers received about triple the salary offered at home, was especially attractive. The RFMF has trained about 600 new soldiers each year for rotating service in the UN forces. The government, however, has had trouble collecting payments for its military services from the UN, and the political opposition advocated pulling out of the forces altogether.

Internal security was the responsibility of the Royal Fiji Police, modeled in all but dress after the British police force. Fijians made up some 53 percent of the total force of 1,316 people in 1979, while Indians constituted 42 percent. The ethnic composition was about the same at all levels, but the commissioner of police in 1982 was Indian. There were only 24 policewomen.

During the normal course of duty, the police did not carry weapons. The police were authorized to set up a special constabulary to help in day-to-day work or in times of special national need.

Fiji has avoided the ethnic violence common to many other multiethnic societies. The nation's 11 prisons, which had room for 976 persons in 1983, held an average of 14,000 crowded prisoners that year. Only one-fourth of the inmates were jailed for more than one year, and some 40 percent were locked up for failing to pay fines. From 75 to 80 percent of the prisoners were Fijian. Severe overcrowding led to small riots in the Suva and Lautoka facilities in 1980. The Fiji Law Reform Commission advocated in 1983 that alternate forms of punishment, such as community service, be instituted to reduce the number of prisoners serving light sentences. An experimental program of this kind had been started in the early 1980s.

NEW CALEDONIA

Official Name	Territory of New Caledonia and Dependencies
Political Status	Overseas Territory of France
Capital	Nouméa
Population	145,400 (early 1984 estimate)
Land Area	19,103 square kilometers
Currency	Cours du Franc Pacifique franc (CFPF)
Major Islands and Island Groups	New Caledonia (Grand Terre) Isle of Pines Loyalty Islands (Ouvéa, Lifou, Maré), Bélep Islands, Chesterfield Islands

The Territory of New Caledonia and Dependencies (New Caledonia) is located in the southwest Pacific, about 1,500 kilometers from the east coast of Australia and 5,000 kilometers west of Tahiti in the Territory of French Polynesia. It has been an overseas territory of France since 1956. Vanuatu, formerly the New Hebrides, lies to its northeast. New Caledonia is a part of the Melanesian cultural area, although its indigenous Melanesian population is outnumbered by European, Polynesian, and Asian settlers and their descendants. Most Melanesians were subsistence farmers, but mining was the most important economic sector, nickel and nickel products forming as much as 95 percent of exports by value. In mid-1984 New Caledonia's political future remained unclear. Different political parties advocated the constitutional status quo, internal autonomy, or complete independence. Negotiations between the French government and local leaders continued, but a settlement of New Caledonia's ultimate political status remained elusive in a society marked by deep ethnic, regional, and class differences.

Physical Environment

The main island of New Caledonia, also called New Caledonia, comprises almost 88 percent of the territory's total land area (see fig. 4). It is one of the largest islands in Oceania, surpassed in size only by New Guinea, New Britain, and North and South islands in New Zealand. The Loyalty Islands parallel the Grande Terre in a chain running northwest to southeast, 100 kilometers to the east. They include the three principal islands of Ouvéa (160 square kilometers), Lifou (1,115 square kilometers), and Maré (650 square kilometers) and a number of smaller islands, such as Tiga, the Astrolabe Reefs, Beautemps-Beaupré Atoll, and Walpole Island. The Isle of Pines (134 kilometers) lies to the southeast of the main island, while a number of smaller islands, including the Bélep Islands, lie to the northwest. The Chesterfield Islands are located 400 kilometers to the west of the main island in the Coral Sea.

A very well-developed line of barrier and fringing reefs surrounds the main island, the Isle of Pines, and the Bélep Islands and extends northward to join the D'Entrecasteaux Reefs, which include the Huon and Surprise islands. The reefs have a total circumference of about 1,600 kilometers. They form a lagoon along the coasts of the main island, particularly the east coast, which is ideal for fishing and coastal navigation.

The French government enforces a territorial limit of 12 nautical miles in its dependencies, including New Caledonia. Enabling legislation passed in 1976 provides for an EEZ (see Glossary) of 200 nautical miles. An unofficial estimate of New Caledonia's sea area, including the EEZ, is over 1.7 million square kilometers. In early 1984 the governments of France and Vanuatu pressed conflicting claims to Île Mathiew and Hunter Island at the southern end of the New Hebrides group.

Insular Relief and Drainage

The main island of New Caledonia is often described as "continental" in its geology because its rock formations, including metamorphic and sedimentary strata, as well as volcanic intrusions, are similar in their diversity to those of much larger continental landmasses. This contrasts with the relatively homogeneous geology of most other Pacific islands that were formed either from coral deposits or volcanic activity. (New Caledonia has no active volcanoes.) It accounts for New Caledonia's mineral wealth—nickel, chrome, cobalt, and iron—located for the most part in the southern and western parts of the island.

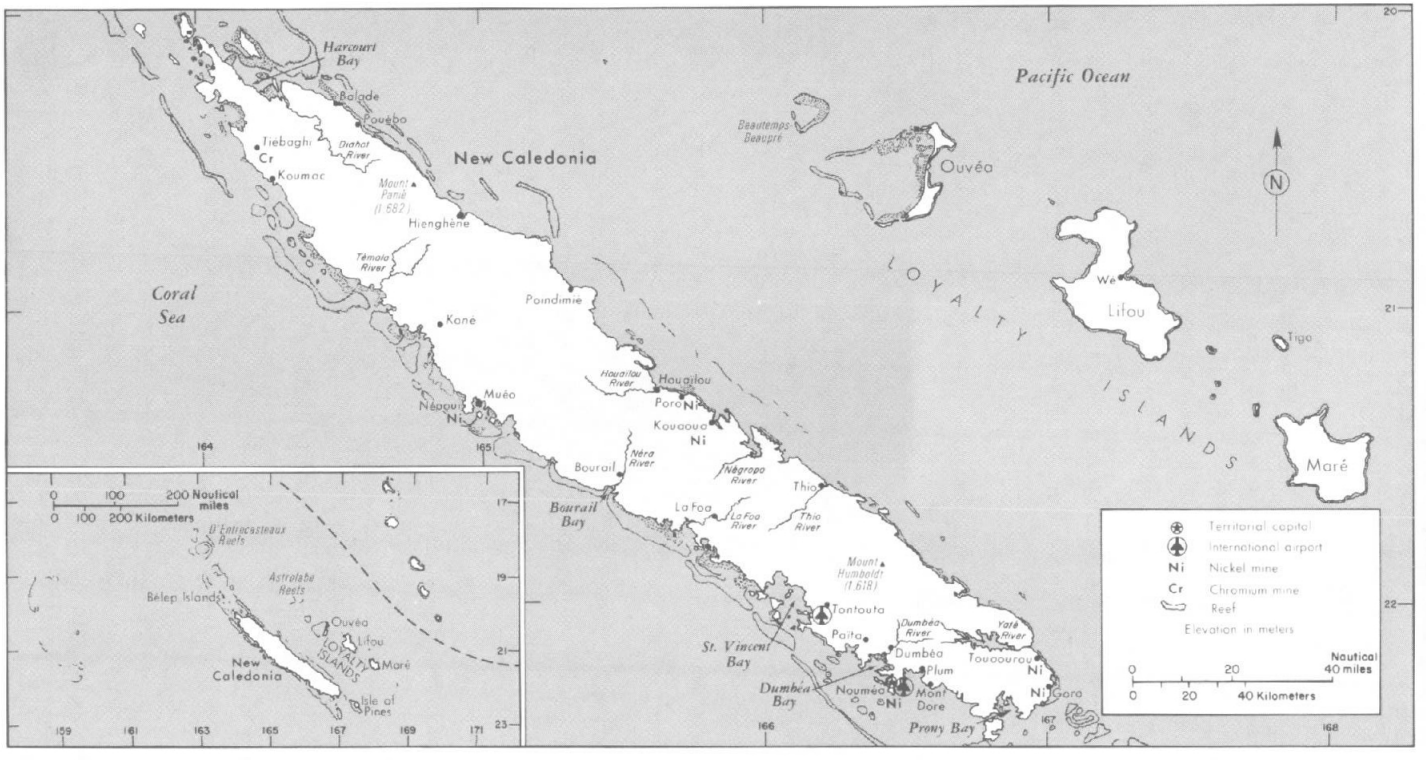


Figure 4. New Caledonia, 1984

The terrain of the main island is mountainous. The topography is characterized by a "confused series of peaks and ranges" that slope steeply to the east coast and more gradually to the west coast. The highest peaks are Mount Panié (1,682 meters) in the north and Mount Humboldt (1,618 meters) in the south. A lowland plain of lakes is found at the southern end of the main island, where the island's only sizable lakes are located.

The coastline of the main island is 800 kilometers long. Steep cliffs, having an elevation of several hundred meters, fall to the sea along the east and southeast coasts. Along the west coast, however, the cliffs are lower, and there are extensive marshes in coastal lowland areas. Good harbors are found at Prony Bay at the southeastern tip of the island, in Dumbéa Bay west of Nouméa, and at points farther to the north, such as St. Vincent Bay, Bourail Bay, and Harcourt Bay. The island is amply drained by a complex network of rivers and streams. The longest of these is the Diahot River, navigable for only 32 kilometers, while the Houaïlou, Négropo, Thio, Yaté, Dumbéa, La Foa, Néra, and Témala rivers are navigable for only about six to eight kilometers. Where rivers empty into the sea, passes form through the barrier reefs because coral cannot grow there.

Unlike the main island, the Loyalty Islands are raised coral formations. Maré and Lifou are uplifted plateaus with slight elevations along the coast, and Ouvéa is an atoll. The rock formations are limestone, and caves are plentiful. Ouvéa possesses a central lagoon, which is fringed on the west by islets. The Isle of Pines and the Bélep Islands are geological extensions of the main island.

The Climate

New Caledonia's climate is moderately tropical, lacking extremes of temperature and humidity. The average yearly temperature is about 23°C, and there is little seasonal variation. In the hottest month, February, temperatures reach 26°C, and the coolest, August, averages about 20°C. A warm, rainy season lasts from December to March, punctuated by frequent and sometimes destructive tropical storms. The cool season lasts from June to August. The prevailing winds are the trade winds, blowing from the southeast. These moderate the temperature and bring greater rainfall to the southern and southeastern regions of the main island. The west coast of the island, sheltered from the trade winds, is drier and suffers occasional drought. The Loyalty Islands enjoy essentially the same climate as the main island, although rainfall is less, owing to the lack of elevation.

Vegetation and Animal Life

The vegetation of the island of New Caledonia is diverse, especially in comparison with that of other Pacific islands. It is adapted to a relatively dry climate, resembling the vegetation of Australia more than that of neighboring Vanuatu. Because of the main island's geographical isolation, 83 percent of all plant species are unique to it. Two vegetation zones are generally recognized: the more humid east coast, where forests are concentrated, and the drier west coast, a region of savannas.

At one time forests may have covered practically all of the main island, but they have been seriously depleted by overcutting and brushfires. The most extensive remaining forests are confined to relatively inaccessible mountain areas where rainfall is plentiful. According to 1983 government statistics, 22.8 percent of the total land area of the main island is covered by dense forests and an additional 15.1 percent by other forest growth, particularly *niaouli*, a low, eucalyptus-like tree with fire-resistant wood that predominates in areas where the original forest cover has been cleared. Mangrove forests are found in the swamps of the west coast. There is very little sandalwood remaining on the island, owing to European exploitation in the nineteenth century.

There are many species of indigenous evergreen trees on the island. The most remarkable is the "column pine," found in both coastal and upland areas, that can grow to heights of 50 meters. Its pillar-like shape and symmetrical branches have impressed travelers arriving by sea since at least the time of Captain James Cook.

Savanna, or grassland, vegetation covered more than one-fifth of the main island, according to 1983 statistics, and is found largely, though not exclusively, in the drier west coast region. Savannas often include stands of *niaouli* trees. The maquis, found on more than one-fourth of the total land area, is an aggregation of scrub or brush, stunted in growth, which contains a large number of botanically interesting species capable of surviving in the red laterite soil. It is found for the most part in the southern part of the main island, at elevations below 500 meters.

The vegetation of the Isle of Pines and the Loyalty Islands is less diverse than that of the main island but contains patches of forest, savanna, and scrub. Coconuts grow along the coasts of all the islands.

New Caledonia has few indigenous species of land mammals because of its distance from continental landmasses. The seven

native species are all bats or flying foxes. Dogs, sheep, cattle, horses, and other domestic animals were introduced by the Europeans along with less desirable newcomers, such as rats. It is a striking fact that pigs, which played a central role in the traditional economy and social practices of other Melanesian peoples, were not known to the inhabitants of New Caledonia before Europeans introduced them. Deer, brought from the Philippines in 1962, multiplied rapidly in the absence of natural predators and caused considerable damage to fields and pastures, although their numbers have been drastically reduced by hunters.

Historical Setting

The prehistory of New Caledonia is a matter of considerable speculation, based principally on archaeological evidence. Papuan peoples may have come to New Caledonia from the Asian mainland, by way of New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and the New Hebrides, as early as 30,000 years ago, followed by Austronesians in the third millennium B.C. (see Prehistory, ch. 1). There also appears to have been considerable migration between the second millennium B.C. and the birth of Christ. Lapita pottery, a low-fired ceramic that in some cases is quite intricately decorated, has been found at sites ranging from New Guinea to Samoa, but it is named for a site on the northwest coast of the main island of New Caledonia. It is dated as early as the second millennium B.C. Lapita artifacts on New Caledonia and elsewhere in the western Pacific were superseded by a different material culture, unique to the Melanesian cultural area, around the first millenniumn A.D. On the Isle of Pines a remarkable assembly of around 300 earth mounds has been discovered that may date as early as 6000 B.C., and rocks carved with human figures and geometrical designs are found throughout New Caledonia.

Contacts between the Loyalty Islands and the Polynesian cultural area to the east were apparently frequent in the centuries before the coming of the Europeans. Polynesian voyagers from Wallis Island, in what is now the Territory of the Wallis and Futuna islands, probably came to Ouvéa in the mid-eighteenth century. Earlier groups of Polynesians—from Wallis, the Samoa Islands, and Tonga—may have reached Maré and Lifou. From the Loyalty Islands, these migrants went farther west on to the main island, establishing communities at Balade, Hienghène, and Houaïlou on its east coast and Koumac and Bourail on its west coast. Not all migration, however, was from Polynesia. The chiefs of a powerful community on the Isle of Pines were descended

from the Melanesian rulers of Anatom Island in Vanuatu.

The indigenous population of the main island may have been as high as 70,000 in the period before European colonization. Evidence for this relatively large population (in the 1976 census the number of Melanesians was given as 55,598) includes the remains of hillside irrigation terraces for the cultivation of taro (a tuber that is a staple food in Oceania), found throughout the island but now abandoned. Politically and linguistically, the people were divided into a large number of highly self-sufficient communities governed by local chiefs, and the dialects of neighboring groups were often mutually unintelligible. They were almost constantly in a state of war, and cannibalism was widely practiced.

First European Contacts

The island of New Caledonia lay at some distance from the sea routes established by Spanish and Dutch explorers and traders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it was not until the late eighteenth century that the main island and the Loyalty Islands were discovered by Europeans.

In September 1774 Captain Cook sailed within sight of the east coast of the main island. Cook and members of his crew came ashore a little to the north of Balade. The steep cliffs and stands of pines reminded the captain of the Scottish coast, and he named the island "New Caledonia," Caledonia being Latin for Scotland. He described the inhabitants in a complimentary way as active, robust, courteous, and disinclined to engage in thievery (apparently common in other places Cook visited). Sailing south along the east coast, he reconnoitered the Isle of Pines but did not encounter the Loyalty Islands. The first recorded European sighting of the Loyalties did not occur until 1793.

French interest in the main island dates from King Louis XVI's orders to Jean-François de Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse, to explore the island's economic potential during his expedition to the Pacific, commencing in 1785. La Pérouse disappeared in the South Pacific in 1788, and three years later the French government sent Antoine de Bruni d'Entrecasteaux to discover his fate. During his voyage, which was unsuccessful in its primary aim of locating La Pérouse, d'Entrecasteaux charted the west coast of the main island. In April-May 1793 he laid over at Balade but, unlike Cook, found the inhabitants hostile, apparently because they were suffering the effects of an extended drought. La Pérouse's fate continued to intrigue the French, and as late as 1827 Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont d'Urville explored the Loyalty Islands

in search of remains of his expedition.

Commerce and evangelism brought Europeans in some numbers to New Caledonia in the mid-nineteenth century. Sandalwood, a fragrant, oily wood that the Chinese burned at funerals and other ceremonies, was a highly treasured, exotic commodity, which Western merchants could exchange at Chinese ports for tea and porcelains. The Hawaiian and the Marquesas islands and Fiji were stripped of sandalwood by the 1820s, and entrepreneurs turned their attention to sandalwood groves on various islands in Melanesia. It was not until 1841, however, that they found large quantities of sandalwood on the Isle of Pines, the Loyalty Islands, and the main island. The trade was a dangerous and ultimately destructive business. Although the islanders were willing to exchange the wood for lengths of iron wire, hatchets, and other goods (Europeans soon appreciated their talents as sharp traders), they were always suspicious and unpredictably hostile. Numerous massacres of sandalwood traders occurred. In turn, the Europeans treated the islanders harshly, and they carried diseases, such as measles, that decimated island populations.

In 1840 and 1841 the London Missionary Society sent Samoa and Cook islands catechists to the Isle of Pines and to Touaourou on the main island; their mission stations did not flourish, however, and were closed down by 1845. They had more success on Maré and Lifou in the Loyalty Islands, in large part owing to the receptiveness of the local Polynesian population. Roman Catholic missionaries of the Society of Mary led by Monsignor Guillaume Douarre, who had been consecrated bishop of New Caledonia by Pope Gregory XVI, arrived at Balade on the main island in 1843. Like the ministers of the London Missionary Society, they suffered numerous reversals in their dealings with the islanders but, unlike the Protestants, benefited from France's official policy of supporting Roman Catholic missionary activity. When a French colony was established in New Caledonia in 1853, the place of the Marists was ensured.

French Colonization

France sought to rival Britain as a naval and colonial power in the Pacific and in 1842 imposed a protectorate over Tahiti (see French Polynesia, ch. 4). The French flag flew over Balade on the main island when the Marist mission was established there in 1843, but British pressure led to a French withdrawal in 1846 over the strenuous objections of Bishop Douarre, who advocated annexation. However, in 1850 the French government sent the

warship *Alcmène* to New Caledonia to chart the waters and explore the coasts. When some of its crew met a grisly end at the hands of Melanesians at the northern end of the main island in December, French troops stationed on the *Alcmène* killed a large number of Melanesians and burned villages and crops in the region. The pace of French involvement quickened. British ships had been in New Caledonian waters, and there had been talk of establishing a coaling station on the southern end of the main island to serve the Sydney-Panama route. In 1851 the Marists, who had been forced off the island by the Melanesians, reestablished their mission stations at Balade and Pouébo and requested French armed protection. In 1853 the newly enthroned French emperor, Napoléon III, ordered one of his admirals, Auguste Fébvrier-Despointes, to sail to New Caledonia and establish a formal claim. On September 24, 1853, Fébvrier-Despointes arrived at Balade and raised the tricolor. Persuading local chiefs to sign agreements they most likely could not fully comprehend, he sailed on to the Isle of Pines and negotiated its annexation with another local chief on September 29, 1853.

In the words of one Australian historian, "seldom was glory acquired so cheaply" as in the annexation of New Caledonia. It was literally grabbed from underneath the noses of the British, who had their own naval forces in New Caledonian waters. London, tied to France in an alliance against Russia, was in no position at the time to protest. The islands' potential as a naval base in the southwest Pacific and their natural resources were well appreciated, but in official French eyes New Caledonia's remoteness made it particularly valuable as a penal settlement similar to the ones established in French Guyana in South America.

The Loyalty Islands remained unclaimed by France until 1866. The London Missionary Society had been established there since the 1840s and the Marists since the 1850s. Local chiefs, in a miniature reenactment of Europe's Thirty Years' War, declared themselves and their subjects either Protestant or Catholic and fought among themselves. On the imposition of French control, British naval and commercial influence was excluded decisively from New Caledonian waters, but the London Missisonary Society was allowed to operate under restricted conditions in the Loyalty group.

The center of French administration on the main island was moved from Balade to Nouméa in the southwest, which offered a well-protected harbor. Nouméa became the capital of the colony of New Caledonia in 1860. (Previously it had been under the jurisdiction of a French governor stationed in Tahiti.) From the very

beginning the attitude of the native peoples, known to Europeans at that time as the Kanakas (originally a Polynesian term meaning "man," used to refer to all Melanesians in the southwest Pacific), was hostile. An influx of settlers from Europe and Australia deprived them of their lands, and the Marist missionaries challenged both traditional religious beliefs and the authority of the chiefs. Good relations were maintained, however, with the Canala and Houaïlou tribes on the east coast. They accepted French suzerainty and in turn were in a better position to deal with their old neighbors and rivals.

By the late 1870s the position of the Melanesian population had seriously deteriorated. Their best lands had been seized by settlers, and beginning in 1876 they were forced onto native reserves, where land was usually of poor quality. The introduction of cattle by Europeans wrought a special hardship, for large areas of land were needed for pastures. In June 1878 a revolt was instigated by Atai, a tribal chief living in the valley of the La Foa River on the west coast. Atai succeeded in getting many of the tribes of the central region of the main island to put aside their differences and join the insurrection that reached as far south as the environs of Nouméa. He was killed, however, in an ambush in September, and the French, using troops of the Canala and Houaïlou tribes, were able to suppress the revolt by June 1879.

The 1878–79 revolt represented the strongest Melanesian challenge to French rule in New Caledonia. To prevent another insurrection, French authorities instituted the *indigénat*, an administrative system that deprived the Melanesians of the protection of law and put them under the control of officials who had great latitude in imposing fines and punishments. In 1897–98 the system of administration for Melanesians was further transformed through the incorporation of local chiefs into a rigid official framework. The native reservations were divided into 50 districts, headed by a "Great Chief" appointed by the colonial governor. Families were forcibly relocated to 150 "new villages," which were laid out in grid fashion in areas easily reached by the gendarmerie. The policy of creating native reservations continued through the early twentieth century. Given the pressures exerted by European settlers to obtain the best land, however, the government trimmed down the reservations so that by 1907 they comprised only about 20 percent of the total land area of the colony and only 10 percent of the area of the main island, most land on the Isle of Pines and the Loyalty Islands having been recognized as native reserves.

As the French forced the Melanesians into the suffocating

confines of a colonial administration in which chiefs lost their traditional prestige and clans were separated from their ancestral lands, the traditional society rapidly disintegrated. Disease and alcoholism decimated the population. Estimated at around 60,000 around the time of the 1878 revolt, the population dwindled to 42,500 in 1887 and to 27,100 in 1921. There was some increase during the 1930s, but even in 1976, when the last official ethnic breakdown of the population was recorded, there were 55,598 Melanesians—less than the number in 1878 and only 42 percent of the total population.

After the revolt the cult of *toki,* or the "red god," a deity brought from the New Hebrides and the Loyalty Islands, reached the main island. Cultists carried amulets that they believed gave them great, and usually malevolent, power. The fear and distrust engendered by the practitioners of the cult contributed to the breakdown of Melanesian society and also played a role in a revolt that occurred on the main island in 1917.

Around 20,000 convicts were brought to New Caledonia between 1864 and 1897. They were confined to penal settlements or sent out in labor gangs to built roads, string telegraph wires, or work in mines or logging camps. The better behaved convicts were "leased" to European settlers or even given their own land to farm. Most were ordinary criminals, and their presence gave the colony an unsavory reputation. After the bloody suppression of the Paris commune in May 1871, however, a large number of political exiles arrived in New Caledonia. These "Communards," many of whom were highly educated or skilled, contributed much to the development of the colony, particularly the Isle of Pines. One of the most remarkable, Louise Michel, an anarchist, taught Melanesian schoolchildren in Nouméa and took a genuine interest in Melanesian culture and ways of life—a rare thing in a European at that time. Her memoirs express great sympathy for the 1878–79 revolt, which she compared to the Communards' own struggle for liberty in France. Although all the Communards were given permission to return home by 1881, the penal regime continued for another 16 years until the colonial governor, Paul Feillet, persuaded Paris to abolish it. Thereafter, Feillet and his successors encourged the immigration of free colonists from Europe and Asia.

Interest in the main island's mineral potential goes back to the time before the establishment of French rule. In 1863 gold was discovered along the banks of the Diahot River in the northern part of the island, and in 1872 copper ore was discovered in exploitable quantities near Balade. Other commercially valuable

mineral deposits uncovered around this time included lead, zinc, chrome, and silver. Cobalt ore was discovered in 1875, and from then until 1909 New Caledonia was the world's principal supplier of this metal. It was nickel, however, that transformed the economy of the colony. Although nickel was discovered on the island in 1863, it was not until 1874 that commercial exploitation was begun. An Australian, John Higginson, established the Société Le Nickel (SLN) in 1876 and earned himself the title of the "nickel king" as, largely through his efforts, New Caledonia became the world's premier supplier of this metal. The discovery of nickel in Canada in 1892 put an end to the first nickel boom, although in the early 1980s nickel continued to be New Caledonia's most important export, and the SLN maintained a dominant position in the mining sector.

The Colony to the End of World War II

Governor Feillet initiated a program to encourage European colonization in the mid-1890s, wherein French farmers possessing assets of at least 5,000 francs were offered 25 hectares of free land. Three hundred families had established themselves successfully by the first decade of the twentieth century, and they and their children soon outnumbered the remaining convict population. Opportunities in the mining sector also stimulated European and Australian immigration. Gradually, a population of New Caledonia-born Europeans emerged, the descendants of convicts, political detainees, and free settlers having roots in the colony going back several generations. Like the French colonists of North Africa, the *pieds-noirs*, these "Caldoches" were culturally French but regarded New Caledonia, rather than France, as their home. Most were concentrated around Nouméa and along the coasts, while the Melanesians remained in their reservations. Even more than other colonial capitals, Nouméa with its grid pattern of streets, cathedral, public buildings, and comfortable, European-style houses, was in structure and spirit a European town in which the indigenous people were very much out of place. Political developments involved the European population exclusively. Elective municipal governments had been established in Nouméa and other European settlements beginning in the 1870s, and a General Council for the colony was inaugurated in 1895. This council, initially elected by male French citizens, had limited powers that included responsibility for local taxation and certain categories of the colonial budget.

The abolition of the penal regime deprived European colo-

nists of a convenient supply of workers, and the colonial administration began encouraging the immigration of laborers from Asia and other parts of Oceania in order to provide an alternative source of cheap labor. These immigrants came from localities as diverse as the New Hebrides, China, Japan, and French Indochina. The most important groups, however, were indentured laborers brought from Vietnam (at that time part of French Indochina) and the island of Java in the Netherlands East Indies (present-day Indonesia). In the words of one observer, anthropologist Douglas L. Oliver, "9,000 Javanese and 5,000 Tonkinese (Vietnamese) supplied the muscle and sweat to keep the colony solvent." They worked in the mines and ore refineries or were contracted out to European farmers as agricultural laborers. Many returned home when their contracts of indenture, which ran for three to five years, expired. Others settled permanently in the colony.

An official census taken in 1936 counted a total population for the colony of 53,245. By that time New Caledonia had clearly become a multiethnic, plural society. The largest ethnic group was still the Melanesians, some 28,800 persons. Europeans numbered 15,954 and Japanese 1,430. A final category, described in contemporary accounts as "colored immigrants," totaled 7,061. These presumably included Vietnamese, Javanese, and a sprinkling of non-New Caledonian Melanesians.

The 1936 census revealed that only 59.3 percent of the Melanesian population lived on the main island; most of the remainder lived in the Loyalty Islands. In the late 1930s only 1,500 Melanesians lived outside the reservations. At this time they remained vulnerable to disease and general demoralization and were largely neglected by the French administration. Europeans and Asian immigrants on the one hand, and Melanesians on the other, lived in separate worlds, an arrangement that functioned reasonably well in the period before World War II but had serious implications for the postwar period when the indigenous population began demanding its political and social rights.

During World War I New Caledonia contributed a contingent of 2,170 soldiers to the Pacific Battalion. More than half of these were Melanesian volunteers. The battalion saw action on the Western Front in Europe, where more than one-fourth of them died on the battlefield.

After the fall of France in June 1940 to Nazi Germany and the establishment of the collaborationist Vichy regime of Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain, a popular movement emerged in the colony to support General Charles de Gaulle's Free French govern-

ment. The pro-Vichy colonial administration was toppled in September 1940, and a new governor loyal to de Gaulle and the Allies was installed. Japanese expansion into the southwest Pacific came hard on the heels of their attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. Its mineral resources made New Caledonia a rich prize, but the Japanese naval advance into the Coral Sea, just west of New Caledonia, was halted in May 1942 (see World War II, ch. 5).

During the war New Caledonia served as a major strategic base for United States, Australian, and New Zealand forces. The enormous military presence caused social disruption and a high level of inflation, which continued into the postwar period. The demand for nickel and other strategic metals generated by the war effort brought riches to some and a measure of prosperity to others, including the Melanesian laborers who had been used to a subsistence standard of living. Although the boom collapsed at the end of the war (reviving during the 1950–53 Korean War), New Caledonia's traditional isolation had been permanently breached, and European colonials and Melanesians alike were to experience a revolution of rising expectations.

Political and Social Developments in the Postwar Period

After the war the French government conceded a greater measure of autonomy to the territory as a whole, also granting political rights to Melanesians, who previously had been excluded from the political process. In 1946 the government abolished the *indigénat*, the special system of administration for the native people that had deprived them of legal rights, and ended the requirement that they perform labor service and remain domiciled on their reservations. The General Council election of December 22, 1946, was the first in which Melanesians were allowed to vote, though the number enfranchised—consisting of war veterans and civil servants—was quite small. In May 1951 the French parliament passed a law that enfranchised a much larger number of indigenous adults in all the territories of the French Union, including New Caledonia. Around 9,000 Melanesian men and women were given the vote, comprising almost half the total of 20,000 eligible voters in the colony.

Missionaries had been active in promoting the organization of Melanesian political interests. In 1946 Catholic missionaries established the Union of Caledonian Native Peoples—Friends of Liberty in Order (Union des Indigènes Calédoniens-Amis de la Liberté dans l'Ordre), and the Protestants founded the Association of French Caledonian and Loyalty Island Native Peoples (As-

sociation des Indigènes Calédoniens et Loyaltiens Français). These groups requested an increase in the area of native reservations because of a rapidly growing population (though the Melanesians were no longer required to live on them) and the recovery of traditional clan territories, which had social and cultural, as well as economic, significance.

In the July 1951 election for a deputy to the French National Assembly, Maurice Lenormand, campaigning on a platform of multiracial unity, triumphed over conservative opponents with the support of the newly enfranchised Melanesian voters. His party, the New Caledonian Union (Union Calédonienne—UC), advocated a greater measure of autonomy for the territory but continued association with France. Conservatives, including businessmen having interests in the mining sector, particularly in the SLN, wanted closer integration with France. The issue of New Caledonia's relationship with the metropole became especially urgent when a French socialist government passed the *loi cadre* (framework law) in July 1956, designed to afford a greater measure of self-government for overseas territories. (New Caledonia, from that year on, was referred to as an overseas territory rather than as a colony.) A controversy ensued between the UC and conservatives regarding the application of the provisions of the *loi cadre*. Lenormand pressured successfully for the establishment of a Territorial Assembly and a Government Council, an embryonic cabinet whose members would be chosen by majority vote of the Territorial Assembly.

Lenormand and the UC, supported by a coalition of Melanesians and European settlers and businessmen jealous of the privileged position of the metropolitan French, dominated territorial politics until the late 1950s, when conservatives, enjoying the support of Charles de Gaulle's government in Paris, gradually began to gain the upper hand. In January 1964 Lenormand was obliged to resign as deputy to the French National Assembly because of his alleged connection with a bomb plot. His fall marked a serious setback for those Melanesians and Europeans who desired a more liberal political system.

European settlers were beginning to fear that a greater measure of autonomy for the territory meant surrendering political power and economic privileges to the growing Melanesian population. This sentiment was particularly strong among the *pieds-noirs*, French who had lived in Algeria but had left at the time of its independence in 1962 to make a new life in New Caledonia. It was shared by many French who came to the territory to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the nickel

boom in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Moreover, a large number of immigrants from French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna, who tended to regard France as the protector of their interests, viewed the Melanesians with suspicion and were wary of their growing political assertiveness.

The Social System

The population of New Caledonia was reckoned at 145,368 by the French government in early 1984. The figure for the total population, published after the census of April 23, 1976, was 133,233. Growth rates reflect immigration as well as natural increase. In the 1960–65 period the average annual growth rate was 2.7 percent. It reached a high of 4.3 percent in the 1965–70 period, declining to 3.4 percent in 1970–75 and 0.9 percent in 1975–80. During these periods immigration, largely from metropolitan France and former overseas possessions was affected by the boom and bust of the nickel sector and growing apprehension over Melanesian demands for immediate independence after 1975, which led to significant European repatriation. United States government sources projected an average annual growth rate of 1.5 percent for the population between 1980 and 1985. In 1979 some 49 percent of the population was under 20 years of age.

The population was concentrated in and around Nouméa; its population in early 1984 was 60,112. If outlying areas were included, the population of greater Nouméa was more than half that of the territory as a whole. Other towns of importance included Bourail, Koné, La Foa, Poindimié, Muéo, and Wé. The average population density for the entire territory in 1976 was 7.0 persons per square kilometer, but for the commune of Nouméa it was 1,335.2 per square kilometer. New Caledonia's population density in early 1984 was 7.6 persons per square kilometer.

Eighty-eight percent of the population was located on the main island in early 1984. The largest concentrations off the main island were the communes of Lifou (8,128 persons), Maré (4,610 persons), and Ouvéa (2,772 persons) in the Loyalty Islands, and the Isle of Pines (1,287 persons). The Chesterfield Islands were uninhabited.

Ethnic Groups and Social Structure

Official figures from the 1976 census reveal that at that time 41.7 percent of the population consisted of Melanesians; Europeans made up 38.1 percent; Polynesians 12 percent; and others,

Session of the Territorial Assembly shows ethnic diversity of New Caledonian people. Courtesy Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes

including Indonesians, 8.2 percent. Comparison with earlier figures shows that the proportion of Melanesians to the general population had declined since 1951, when it was 51.9 percent. In the 1976–80 period, however, it increased to 43.3 percent. The European population grew from 31.1 percent in 1951 to a high of 41 percent in 1969 but declined thereafter to 35.6 percent. The Polynesians have been the fastest growing group. From a few hundred in the early 1950s, they had grown to an estimated one-eighth of New Caledonia's population by 1980. Ethnic breakdowns for that year, the latest available in mid-1984, show 59,800 Melanesians, 49,200 Europeans, 17,400 Polynesians, and 11,600 others.

The different ethnic groups of New Caledonia were spatially, culturally, and economically segregated, a result of early colonial policy and the preference of many, if not most, of the territory's present inhabitants. In contrast to the situation in many other French overseas possessions, there has been little intermarriage between Europeans and the indigenous people. A genuine "creole" culture, a blending of European and indigenous elements, has not developed. The abolition of compulsory Melanesian residence on the reservations in 1946 and the migration of some Melanesians to Nouméa began to break down the ethnic

"compartmentalization" of society. The controversy over the future political status of New Caledonia, however, has sharpened interethnic tensions and rivalries.

The Melanesians. Descendants of the inhabitants of New Caledonia at the time of the coming of the first Europeans are commonly referred to as Melanesians, though a small number, especially the people of the Loyalty Islands, have significant Polynesian admixture. Apart from the indigenous people, there is a small population of Melanesian immigrants from the islands in what is now Vanuatu. The term "Kanaka" (rendered "Canaque," "Kanaque," and "Kanak" in French), originally used by Europeans in a derogatory fashion, has been adopted as a form of self-reference by some Melanesians, including militants demanding "Kanaka Independence."

In the early 1980s only about 18 percent of the population of Nouméa consisted of Melanesians. Most of these had migrated from the Loyalty Islands. The largest concentration of Melanesians on the main island was found in the communes along the east coast—more than three-quarters of the total population. Along the west coast they comprised approximately 47 percent of the total population, excluding Nouméa and its environs. More than 90 percent of the Isle of Pines and 97 to 99 percent of the Loyalty and the Bélep islands consisted of Melanesians. Most Melanesians engaged in subsistence or cash-crop agriculture.

Traditional Melanesian society was based on the clan, or patrilineal descent group. This was small, comprising about 50 people who lived in a small settlement. The center of each clan settlement was the "great house," a ritual place located on a small hill where the totemic images of the clan were kept. Each clan had its own history and legends, and in principle all its members were descended from a common ancestor. The leader of the clan was customarily the senior male of the clan's founding family. Although male heads of families were ranked within the clan (this ranking was expressed through ritual distribution of yams, a staple food), the clan leader was not so much a ruler as a presider over rituals and community consultations. The clans were closely tied to the land and its associated spirits. In places where more than one clan lived, the "original" clan, defined in terms of its relationship to the spirits of the land, had precedence. Leaders of groups larger than clans were limited in power because they were based on constantly shifting alliances of clan heads and their followers. A figure of great importance in the traditional society was the "master of the land," who had extensive knowledge of geneal-

ogy and of the claims of each clan in his region to specific tracts of land, which clan members owned communally. Marriage was exogamous, women being brought in from other clans.

During the early colonial period French administrators, partly because of their misunderstanding of Melanesian society and partly out of administrative convenience, ignored the clans and organized the indigenous people in terms of "tribes" led by "chiefs" and "subchiefs." Tribes included large populations and areas of land, and the native reserves were, in essence, their communally owned land. French policies created a political and social vacuum. Clans were separated from their ancient lands and moved into reserves, and the new chiefs set above the people had little prestige or authority.

Asians and Polynesians. The Asian population, consisting principally of Indonesians and Vietnamese but also including Malabaris from the Indian subcontinent and a very small number of Japanese, is concentrated around Nouméa. The repatriation of many Asians after World War II and an influx of new immigrants from Europe and other parts of Oceania have contributed to a decline in their percentage of the total population. In 1963 Indonesians composed 4.1 percent of New Caledonia's people, 4.4 percent in 1969, but only 3.8 percent in 1976.

In contrast the Polynesian component of the population has grown rapidly. In the late 1940s people from Wallis and Futuna began seeking opportunities in New Caledonia, the consequence of the failure of the coconut crop and overcrowded conditions in their home islands. Continued immigration through the decades of the 1950s and 1960s and a high birth rate made the Wallis Islanders the third largest ethnic group (after the Melanesians and Europeans) in New Caledonia by 1969, constituting 6.2 percent of the total population. Immigrants from French Polynesia make up another important Polynesian group. Polynesians, particularly from French Polynesia, have been quick to seize employment opportunities in the modern sectors of the economy and have occupied the uncomfortable position of an intermediate group between dominant Europeans and disadvantaged Melanesians. This has often made them a target of Melanesian resentment.

Among political deportees brought to New Caledonia in the late nineteenth century were about 300 Arabs, rebels against French rule in Algeria. A small Algerian Arab minority remains, although official figures on the number have not been published.

The Europeans. Europeans, predominantly French, are concen-

trated in and around Nouméa, where they have re-created with considerable success, a distinctly French style of life 20,000 kilometers from home. A significant division existed in the European population between the Caldoches, those born in the territory whose roots often go back several generations, and the metropolitan French, less than 20 percent of the total European population in early 1984. A certain sense of rivalry has developed between the two groups, based in part on the Caldoches' resentment of the transients' higher standard of living and their privileged position within the colonial administration. A minority of Europeans, commonly referred to as *broussards* (from *brousse*, or "bush"), live in the interior and operate farms and cattle stations.

Religion

Traditional Melanesian religion was animistic. The indigenous people conceived of a world inhabited by a myriad of benevolent and malevolent spirits, of which the ancestors of the clan were among the most powerful. The world of humans and that of deities were regarded as closely intertwined. The dead, as ancestors, had an important social role, and the totemic animals of the clans were regarded as possessing great procreative powers, the givers of life through generations.

Traditional religious beliefs have been to a considerable extent supplanted (though not eradicated) by Christianity. According to recent estimates, 90.6 percent of the total population in 1980 consisted of professing Christians, divided between 72.5 percent Catholics and 18.1 percent Protestants. Muslims constituted the largest non-Christian religious group (4 percent of the total population in 1980), found predominantly among Indonesians and Algerian Arabs. Smaller groups included Buddhists, Bahais, adherents of tribal religions, and a "non-religious" category of 4.5 percent. Cargo cults, principally from Vanuatu, have had some influence (see Vanuatu, this ch.).

Missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, have played a significant role in helping Melanesians adjust to the radical changes following colonization and in promoting their cause to an often indifferent or unsympathetic colonial government. The most important was Maurice Leenhardt, a pastor of the French Protestant Evangelical Mission Society, who headed a mission near Houaïlou on the main island between 1902 and 1926. Making an exhaustive study of Melanesian culture and mythology and training indigenous pastors, Leenhardt sought to fashion a place

for the Christian religion within the people's own cultural context. The native peoples' fortunes at the time of his arrival were at a low ebb, and many Europeans expected that they would become virtually extinct within a few years. Leenhardt was successful in gaining Melanesian converts to a great extent because he was the first European to take an active interest in their welfare. Following his example, Catholic missionaries became active on the main island and the number of Christian adherents grew rapidly.

Health and Education

The responsibility for maintaining a system of public health services was borne in the mid-1980s by the French military. Medical facilities—both public and private—were most developed in Nouméa, but there were 17 medical centers, 13 nursing centers, and 25 dispensaries located in outlying areas. Intestinal parasites and gastrointestinal illnesses were relatively common, and there were instances of leprosy and tuberculosis. Although malaria was not found in New Caledonia, the authorities in recent years have taken measures to prevent the spread of mosquito-borne dengue fever. Infant mortality at the time of the 1976 census was 27 deaths per 1,000 live births but by 1982 this had declined to 21.9. In 1976 life expectancy was 64 years.

There were both state- and church-supported primary and secondary schools; two-thirds of students on all levels attended public schools in 1982. The educational system was similar to that found in metropolitan France; five years of elementary education and four years of lower secondary education were followed by a division of upper secondary schools into vocational and academic tracks, the latter leading to the university level. Students had to go overseas, primarily to France, to attend a university, although there has been talk since 1966 of establishing an institution of higher education in the territory.

Official statistics on school attendance suggest that while there were ethnic disparities, Melanesians were taking advantage of educational facilities on all levels. In 1982 a total of 11,381 Europeans, 6,429 Polynesians, 1,838 Asians (Vietnamese and Indonesian ancestry), and 21,979 Melanesians attended public and private elementary schools; on the lower secondary-school level, there were 5,015 Europeans, 1,115 Polynesians, 761 Asians, and 3,900 Melanesians. On the upper secondary-school level, in the vocational and academic tracks, 1,632 Melanesians, 1,915 Europeans, and 1,203 Asians and Polynesians were enrolled. Overall,

a smaller percentage of Melanesians enrolled in elementary schools remained in the system through upper secondary school (7.4 percent) than did Europeans (16.8 percent), Polynesians (12.1 percent), or Asians (23.3 percent). Literacy among all adults in 1976, however, was 91 percent.

The Economy

New Caledonia possesses a number of metals of great strategic and industrial importance and has a well-developed mining sector. Among the mineral resources are large deposits of nickel, cobalt, chromium, iron, and manganese. Antimony, mercury, copper, silver, lead, and gold are known to exist in sizable quantities.

Mining has brought a prosperity to the territory unmatched in Oceania (excluding New Zealand and Nauru). Per capita GDP in 1980 was estimated at over US$7,800. The economy, however, has been seriously affected by instability in world demand for nickel, the most important mineral resource. Moreover, the benefits of a modern economy have not been distributed equally. In mid-1984 Nouméa, having a predominantly European population, had a standard of living comparable to that of cities in Western Europe, while the interior, where Melanesians predominate, remained underdeveloped, although the government supplied basic health and educational services. Dependence on the mining sector has resulted in neglect of agriculture and fishing. On numerous occasions the French government has affirmed its commitment to promoting investment in these sectors in order to provide a more stable basis for economic growth in the future.

The economy, measured in terms of GDP, grew almost threefold in the period between 1960 and 1980. Indexed at 100 in 1960, the total value of economic activity in the territory was at a level of 289 in 1980, when measured in constant prices. In 1980 agriculture contributed 3 percent to GDP, the mining sector (extraction and refining), 17.9 percent; public works and construction, 9.1 percent; services and transportation, 18.5 percent; commerce, 21.3 percent; small-scale industries and services, 9.7 percent; and administration—the largest factor—22.5 percent. Inflation in the November 1982-November 1983 period was 11 percent. In October 1982 the government imposed a six-month price freeze.

The census of April 23, 1976, provided detailed information on the territory's labor force. More recent official data had not been published as of mid-1984. In 1976 agriculture, forestry, and

Mining center of the Société Le Nickel, the most important industrial enterprise in New Caledonia, which was the world's second largest producer of nickel in 1981
Courtesy Société Le Nickel

fishing employed 13,394 persons, of whom 40 percent were Melanesians; mining employed 2,066. Forty percent of these were European, 6 percent were Indonesians, 35 percent were Melanesians, and 19 percent were Polynesians and others. Industries involved in smelting and refining of metals employed 2,891 persons, of whom 44 percent were Europeans, 5 percent were Indonesians, 12 percent were Melanesians, and 34 percent were other groups, mostly Polynesians. Other industries employed 2,578 persons. The labor force totaled 46,689 in 1976. Aside from agriculture and activities connected to the mining sector, important components included transport, 2,632 persons; construction, 4,475 persons; commerce, 6,458 persons; and services (including government employees), 11,338 persons.

The age of the labor force figures makes it difficult to calculate rates of employment for the early 1980s. Government publications reveal that unemployment compensation, provided for salaried workers since 1975, was being dispensed to 1,484 persons in late 1981.

In early 1984 some workers were organized into a labor federation, the Federation of Caledonian Laborers (Confédération des Travailleurs Calédoniens), which included a union for gov-

ernment employees, one for industrial workers, and the Union of Exploited Kanaka Laborers (Syndicat des Travailleurs Canaques Exploités). A second labor federation was the Federation of Workers and Employees' Unions of New Caledonia (Union des Syndicats Ouvriers et Employés de Nouvelle-Calédonie).

Currency, Banking, and National Accounts

New Caledonia's currency, the CFP franc (CFPF; for value of the CFP franc—see Glossary), in early 1984 was tied to the French franc at a rate of 1 French franc equal to CFPF18.18. The Institut d'Émission d'Outre-Mer in France issued the territory's banknotes. There were five banks in the territory, two of which were branches of Paris banks and three of which had their headquarters in Nouméa. There were also a number of trust and savings establishments.

The territorial budget in 1983 was CFPF30 billion. The 1984 budget of CFPF31.2 billion included CFPF4 billion for extraordinary expenditure, investment in infrastructure, and the development of the agricultural, fishery, and tourism sectors. A 10-year plan (1980–90) envisioned CFPF130 billion in credits and loans to be invested in the territory's development. Revenues have included personal income taxes since 1980 but have depended primarily on import and export duties and indirect taxes. The French government has also provided direct grants to New Caledonia.

The Mining Sector

In 1981 New Caledonia was the world's second largest producer of nickel ore, the largest being Canada. Its reserves of nickel ore were estimated at 40 million tons, surpassed only by Indonesia's 60 million tons out of an estimated world total of 200 million tons. More than three-fourths of reserves are found in lateritic formations located near Goro at the southern tip of the main island. The principal nickel deposits exploited by the SLN, the territory's largest mining enterprise, are found at Poro, Kouaoua, and Thio, on the east coast of the main island and Népoui on the west coast. The ore is stripped from the mountains and either refined at the SLN's smelter at Doniambo in Nouméa or shipped to facilities overseas. Nickel, in the form of ore, matte, and ferronickel, accounted for an average of 93 percent of exports by value in the 1977–81 period. The principal importers in the mid-1980s were France, Japan, and the United States. Because of nickel's

value as a strategic metal, its extraction and export were subject to strict control by the French government.

Excessive dependence on nickel exports has subjected New Caledonia's economy to a series of highly disruptive boom and bust periods. International markets were favorable during the 1969–74 period, ore exports reaching a peak of 4.1 million tons (gross weight) in 1970. The competition of new producers, such as Indonesia, Botswana, and the Philippines, began to have an adverse effect during the mid-1970s. It was estimated that the cost of producing nickel in New Caledonia was as much as four times that of producing it in Indonesia or Canada. Other factors in the occurrence of a nickel bust were the 1975 recession in industrialized countries and new industrial methods that enabled consumers to use less pure grades of the metal. Even France has reduced its dependence on New Caledonia as a source of nickel—75 percent of its requirements were met by the territory in 1975 but declined to 45 percent by 1980. Labor unrest, including a 50-day strike at the SLN's smelter in 1978, has also contributed to a decline in nickel exports.

The irregular fortunes of the territory's nickel industry are reflected in figures for exports of nickel ore in the 1974–82 period. In 1974 some 3.3 million tons (gross weight) of ore were exported, declining to 2.5 million tons the following year. In 1977 the figure was 2.6 million tons but fell sharply to 1.5 million tons in 1978. Although the 1980 figure was 2 million tons, exports in 1982 were down to 1.5 million tons. A similar pattern is revealed in the export of matte and ferronickel. Export revenues, which in 1977 were CFPF26.2 billion, were CFPF15.3 billion in 1978, recovering gradually to CFPF31 billion by 1981. These figures included revenue from the export of ore, matte, and ferronickel, of which the last was the largest component. Although the SLN owned the only smelter in the territory, export operations were also maintained by 15 independent mining enterprises.

The declining quality of the nickel ore mined in the territory is a matter of some concern. During the late nineteenth century, ores averaged 9 percent nickel content. By 1960, however, average nickel content had declined to a little over 3 percent and to 2.7 percent by 1969. By 1982 it averaged 2.5 percent. Although extensive reserves remain, these are primarily in low-grade ores.

In the mid-1980s other metals mined on a significant scale in New Caledonia included cobalt, which is extracted from nickel ore. The mining of chromium, begun in 1897, was abandoned in 1962 because of low world prices. The tripling of the world price for chromium in 1974–75 led to a reopening of the mine at

Tiébaghi in the northern region of the main island, and ore production in the 1977–81 period averaged 7,900 tons a year. The export of iron ore from the territory ceased in 1968.

Agriculture and Other Sectors

Statistics for the 20-year period from 1960 to 1980 revealed a gradual decline in the importance of agriculture's contribution to GDP, from 9.6 percent to 3 percent. Given the difficulty of measuring the productivity of subsistence agriculture and its value, total figures for the sector may be understated. However, the territory was not self-sufficient in food. Imports, including animal and vegetable products, totaled CFPF3.2 billion in 1980 and CFPF4.8 billion in 1982.

Agricultural and fishery exports formed a minute portion of total exports by value, less than one-half of 1 percent in the 1980–82 period. Products included coffee, copra, and *trocas* (a shell used to make buttons).

Principal crops included corn, yams, taro, sorghum, potatoes, vegetables, and fruits. In the 1980–81 period, about 600 cattle ranches covered some 280,000 hectares in the territory. Cattle totaled around 100,000 head; there were smaller numbers of pigs, horses, and sheep. Commercial fishing in early 1984 remained relatively undeveloped, although the territory had tuna fishing agreements with United States and Japanese fishing firms.

In the 1975–80 period the volume of wood extracted from the territory's forests averaged 13,500 cubic meters annually and in 1982 was 16,400 cubic meters. The government's Forestry Commission was in charge of reforestation projects, and the Center for Tropical Forest Technology carried out research projects.

In early 1984 tourism was a sector of some importance and was included in government investment plans. However, New Caledonia's isolation and the cost of living, high for the region, have impeded its development.

The main island was encircled by a system of coastal roads. Total road length in the territory in 1980 was 5,496 kilometers. Bitumen-surfaced highways amounted to 766 kilometers, and 2,523 kilometers consisted of dirt country roads. The major seaport, accommodating frequent cargo service to Asia, Australia, and Europe, was Nouméa. There were 12 commercial airfields in the territory; the international facility at Tontouta served Nouméa. Air Caledonia, the principal domestic airline, was scheduled to begin international service in the Pacific region in 1984.

The Land Issue

Land tenure and land reform were central issues in New Caledonia, having cultural, social, and political, as well as economic, implications. Although colonial policy left to the Melanesian people the lands they occupied, the definition of "occupation" was narrow, excluding hunting, gathering, and even some gardening land. Reserves were whittled away owing to the pressure of European settlers, particularly cattle ranchers, on the government; thus, by 1907 only about 112,000 hectares were reserve land on the main island—less than 10 percent of its area. Melanesian nationalism has evolved to a considerable extent along with the demand for the restoration of ancestral lands. The return of expropriated land has been regarded as essential for the restoration of an authentic Melanesian culture and way of life.

Land in New Caledonia is divided into three legal categories: the public domain, controlled mostly by the territorial government, amounting in 1980 to 1,101,710 hectares; privately owned land, primarily in the hands of Europeans, comprising 443,795 hectares (about 10,000 hectares of which were owned by Melanesians); and reserve lands, inalienably and communally owned by the 234 Melanesian "tribes," amounting to 376,659 hectares in 1980. More than half of total reserve lands was located in the Loyalty Islands.

During the 1907–79 period the government, in piecemeal fashion, added 44,866 hectares to the reserves. However, a more determined policy of land reform, aimed at restoring in large measure the ancestral lands of the Melanesian clans, was proposed by Paul Dijoud, France's secretary of state for overseas departments and territories, in 1978. Dijoud's plan involved government purchase of more than 150,000 hectares of land to be returned to the Melanesians. Distribution of the land was to be carried out on the basis of a comprehensive survey of precolonial clan holdings. A new category of land tenure, "clan properties," was recognized. In October 1982 the Land Administration of New Caledonia and Dependencies was established, and by early 1983 the administration had purchased 43,929 hectares, of which about 35,000 hectares were redistributed. It was estimated that a further 100,000 hectares would be returned to the Melanesians at a rate of about 20,000 hectares a year between 1983 and 1988. In 1983 the government reserved CFPF545 million for the purpose of purchasing land.

Although land reform affected only a very small number of

Europeans (as low as 1.6 percent of the European population, according to one account in the Paris newspaper *Le Monde*), the French government's determination to press ahead with restitution of clan lands remained a complex and emotional issue in early 1984. An important problem was whether Melanesian properties would include improvements, such as buildings, made on the land by Europeans and how the latter would be compensated for their losses. In some cases, disputes arose between clans regarding land claims and had to be arbitrated. Europeans and some Melanesian leaders criticized the official recognition of traditional clan rights as "feudal" and as promoting inequality between clan and tribal leaders and the majority of Melanesians. However, the new arrangements included the right of the clans to lease their land to Europeans and other outsiders.

The Political System

The people of New Caledonia are French citizens. Adults of both sexes have the right to vote for two deputies to the French National Assembly and one member of the Senate. New Caledonia also has a representative serving on the metropolitan government's Economic and Social Council.

New Caledonia's government institutions are defined in accordance with a revised territorial statute enacted by the French government on December 28, 1976. Although it was designed to give New Caledonia a greater measure of autonomy, the metropolitan government retains extensive powers exercised by the high commissioner of the republic. This official, formerly known as the governor, is France's representative and executor in the territory and head of the national civil service. He also plays an executive role in the territorial administration.

The legislature, the Territorial Assembly, is elected by popular vote for a five-year term. Citizens over 23 years of age and in full possession of their civil rights were eligible to run. In early 1984 the Territorial Assembly had 36 members. It was responsible for selecting the seven-member Government Council (not including the high commissioner, who served as president of the council but did not have a vote in its deliberations). The council could be dissolved by a vote of censure of the Territorial Assembly. However, the Council of Ministers in Paris retained the power to dissolve the Territorial Assembly.

The metropolitan government appointed the high commissioner and the highest ranks of the civil service and retained responsibility for foreign affairs and defense, finance, secondary and

college education, international communications, and justice. The territorial government was granted authority over such matters as primary education, health, transport, land policy, and agriculture. However, even in these areas it lacked the manpower and financial resources to act without the support of the metropole.

In the early 1980s the territory was divided into four administrative subdivisions: Western New Caledonia, including the Bélep and Huon islands; Eastern New Caledonia; Southern New Caledonia, including Nouméa and the Isle of Pines; and the Loyalty Islands. There were 32 communes, or townships, equivalent to those found in France. Each township had a mayor, a township council, and a local administration.

The administration of justice followed standard French practice and procedures. The principal officers of the courts, appointed by the secretary of state for overseas departments and territories, are the president of the Court of Appeal, the president of the Civil Court, the president of the Court of First Instance, the attorney general, and the magistrates.

The Evolution of Political Forces

Beginning in the late 1960s, a more militant type of political movement became apparent among Melanesians. College-educated youths, some of whom had experienced the student and labor activism of May 1968 in Paris, formed the Red Neckerchiefs (Foulards Rouges), an organization espousing liberation from colonial domination and the revival of Melanesian culture. Another association, the 1878 Group, named for the year of the Melanesian revolt, demanded the recovery of clan lands taken by Europeans. In 1970 Yann Célène Uregei, a Melanesian leader, broke with the New Caledonian Union (Union Calédonienne—UC), the party that had advocated autonomy, to form a group that came to be known as the United Front for the Liberation of the Kanakas (Front Uni pour le Libération des Kanaks—FULK), which by 1977 was demanding full independence from France. Other associations that supported independence at this time were the Marxist-oriented Kanaka Liberation Party (Parti pour la Libération des Kanaques—PALIKA) and the more moderate Progressive Melanesian Union (Union Progressiste Melanésienne—UPM).

During the period between 1970 and 1980, support for independence among Melanesians grew. This was attributable not

only to their sense of grievance against the colonial government but also to the fact that other territories in the western Pacific, such as Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and, most significantly, the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides, were achieving self-rule.

In 1979 a coalition of parties, the Independence Front (Front Indépendantiste—FI), was established and included the UC—which had dropped its autonomy platform and supported full independence—FULK, UPM, and a number of other groups, including a faction of PALIKA. PALIKA's more radical supporters remained outside the FI.

Among the constituents of the FI, a basic consensus on the nature of an independent New Caledonia remained elusive. The majority sought to establish the special status and privileges of the Melanesians as the indigenous population of the country, but some FI supporters advocated a "Caledonian Caledonia" in which all ethnic groups would have an equal role. They opposed land reforms that sought to reestablish the traditional clan holdings.

An anti-independence coalition, the Rally for New Caledonia in the Republic (Rassemblement pour Calédonie dans la République—RPCR), was organized in 1978 and advocated the territory's integration with France as an overseas department. It had close affinities with the Gaullist Rally for the Republic (Rassemblement pour la République—RPR) in France. Centrist forces, organized in 1979 into the Federation for a New Society in New Caledonia (Fédération pour une Nouvelle Société Calédonienne—FNSC), supported, in greater or lesser measure, autonomy for the territory. The Union for French Democracy in New Caledonia (Union pour la Démocratie Française en Calédonie), a group outside the three main coalitions, opposed independence.

In 1978 Dijoud outlined a long-term development plan designed to reduce New Caledonian dependence on nickel exports. This was to be accomplished through greater investment in the agricultural, tourism, and fishing sectors. France would provide financing in the amount of CFPF130 billion. The importance of improving the economic position of the Melanesians, largely through the implementation of land reform, was also stressed. The plan proposed establishing the Melanesian Cultural Institute and teaching Melanesian languages in the schools. The plan was based on the assumption that New Caledonia would remain in association with France, for it was believed that immediate independence was a "vain hope," given the potential for violent confrontation between ethnic groups. It was claimed that "only

France could support real reforms" and that the issue of eventual independence ought to be postponed for a period of 10 years while reforms were put in place.

In February 1979 the plan was approved by the Territorial Assembly with the support of the conservatives and centrists, then in the majority. Leaders of the UC, however, asserted that New Caledonia would sever its connections with France in the early 1980s. The ensuing crisis between pro- and anti-independence forces within the territorial government led Dijoud to dissolve the legislature. In elections for the Territorial Assembly held in July 1979 and regarded as virtually a referendum on the independence issue, the two parties favoring some form of continued association with France, the RPCR and the FNSC, won a total of 22 seats, while the FI won 14 seats. The RPCR and the FNSC formed a ruling coalition. The balloting, however, had been held after the French National Assembly had passed a new election law for New Caledonia that altered the constituencies in a way, it alleged, that favored the anti-independence groups.

There were demonstrations in Nouméa by supporters of the FI in August and September 1979 and forcible occupations of land by Melanesians in various localities on the main island. On September 19, 1981, Pierre Declerq, secretary general of the UC and a major pro-independence figure, was assassinated. This caused an escalation of tensions between activist Melanesians and members of other ethnic groups who were lining up on opposite sides of the independence issue. The situation was exacerbated by the territorial government's inability or unwillingness to find and convict the perpetrator. One man, a European, was charged, but rightist Europeans campaigned actively for his release. According to some observers, the political situation in New Caledonia was beginning to resemble that of Algeria, where a determined group of French settlers had opposed Arab Algerian demands for independence and there had been a bloody civil war.

The Autonomy Statute

The government of Socialist Party leader François Mitterrand, who assumed the presidency of France in May 1981, was more receptive to appeals for the independence of New Caledonia than its conservative predecessor, whose spokesmen had stressed the dangers allegedly inherent in premature self-rule. The position of supporters of independence was also strengthened by the breakdown of the RPCR-FNSC conservative-centrist coalition in the Territorial Assembly and the forma-

tion of a new coalition government by the FI and the FNSC in June 1982. However, the political situation was becoming extremely volatile. In July 1982 anti-independence demonstrators, numbering as many as 25,000, turned out in the center of Nouméa. A group of about 250 persons broke into a session of the Territorial Assembly and assaulted assembly members while they were deliberating on a bill that would turn a quarter of the territory's land over to a Melanesian land trust. The bill was eventually turned down by the legislature.

Sources inside the territory estimated that as many as 25,000 illegal arms were in circulation and that anti-independence groups, such as the New Caledonia Front (Front Calédonien—FC), were preparing forcibly to resist separation from France. In the early 1980s there were a number of allegedly political murders in which most of the victims were independence activists or sympathizers. In January 1983 two French police officers were killed in a confrontation with Melanesians at Koindé, a village in the interior north of Nouméa.

In the face of growing violence, the French government sought to negotiate a working relationship between moderate pro- and anti-independence groups and lay the foundations for a peaceful transition to a permanent political status. In July 1983, Georges Lemoine, France's secretary of state for overseas departments and territories, invited 20 political leaders from the territory, including representatives from the FI, to a "round table conference" at Nainville-les-Roches, outside Paris. The conference was successful in building a fragile consensus. The FI leaders declared their satisfaction that new proposals by France, granting a substantially larger measure of self-government, could serve as an instrument of transition to full independence. The RPCR supported certain democratic provisions drawn up at the conference on the grounds that they forestalled a unilateral declaration of independence by Melanesians. Apparently they also believed that a majority of New Caledonians would oppose independence in a future referendum, Melanesians forming less than half the population.

In November 1983 Lemoine presented a detailed proposal for a new territorial statute before the legislature in Nouméa. In his address the minister noted that the preamble of the draft statute affirmed the "equality of Melanesian civilization" and the importance of traditional institutions and practices. The statute was described as initiating a period of "decolonization." Specific provisions included transfer of all executive authority to a popularly elected government. The high commissioner, appointed by

Paris, would, in Lemoine's words, serve as "guardian of the legality of the functioning of the territorial institutions" and would ensure respect for civil rights through recourse to an administrative tribunal. However, the territory would have extensive powers to determine its international relations in the Pacific region "within the framework of France's international commitments." In the economic sphere, New Caledonia would have control over the exploitation of its natural resources and the right to withhold approval from any development project involving less than CFPF1 billion. The government's commitment to land reform was reaffirmed.

Proposed internal reforms included the division of the territory into six regions, each having a regional council. A fixed proportion of the council members would be nominated by the College of Clans and the Council of Grand Chiefs, representing customary Melanesian interests. On the territorial level a regional assembly, containing "customary representatives," would serve alongside the Territorial Assembly, in a new bicameral legislative system. The purpose of the proposed arrangement—a blend of traditional Melanesian authority, the "corporatist" representation of occupational and functional groups, and the conventional democratic representation of individual electors—was to maintain a delicate balance of ethnic and social interests. Elections for the Territorial Assembly were scheduled for July 1984. After the five-year period during which the statute would be in operation, a referendum would be held on the issue of independence.

By early 1984, however, the consensus achieved at Nainville-les-Roches had fallen apart. Elements in the FI demanded a vote on independence as early as 1985, describing the autonomy statute and its five-year transition period as a "treaty of occupation." An issue of great importance was determining who would be allowed to vote in any referendum on self-rule. Some FI leaders declared that only Melanesians and non-Melanesians having a parent born in the territory should be given the right to participate in the referendum. The French government has insisted that more recent settlers ought not to be excluded from any determination of New Caledonia's final political status.

Territorial Security

In early 1982 France maintained about 2,800 military personnel in New Caledonia. Ground forces, including paratroopers and marines, were based in Nouméa, Plum, and Bourail. The French Pacific Fleet maintained an installation at Pointe Chaleix

in Nouméa. An air force facility at Tontouta, the site of the international airport, serviced a unit of helicopters used for the rapid transport of troops.

The major police unit in New Caledonia was a single division of the French National Gendarmerie, comprising about 450 men. The gendarmerie was organized along military lines, strictly disciplined, highly mobile, and armed and equipped for security patrols and other police duties in non-urban areas. Its basic personnel, including all officers and noncommissioned officers and a large portion of the lower ranks, were recruited and trained in France before being deployed to the territory. However, vacancies in the gendarmerie may have been filled by inducting local personnel. In mid-1984 it was unclear whether, and in what number, Melanesians served in this national police force. In periods of civil unrest, reinforcements of gendarmerie were flown in from France or French Polynesia

In addition to the gendarmerie, local subdivisions organized police forces. Most of the police officers, called guardians of the peace, were recruited and trained locally.